'His Dominion shall be from Sea to Sea'
ZECH. 9.10

WORLD DOMINION

Kenneth Grubb
FAREWELL AND HAIL!

Alexander McLeish
MISSIONARIES IN THE NEW INDIA

H. Wakelin Coxill
PILOTS FOR THE AFRICAN CHURCH

Paul H. Nilson
TURKEY—A BRIDGE BETWEEN CONTINENTS

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TWO SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE

World Dominion

An International Review of Christian Progress

Founder: Thomas Cochrane, M.B., C.M.

Editor:
SIR KENNETH GRUBB, C.M.G., LL.D.

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M. H. HICKS

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Sir Kenneth Grubb, the present Editor of *World Dominion*, will be the Chairman of the Board of Management. He was formerly a pioneer missionary in South America and was Controller of Overseas Publicity in the Ministry of Information from 1941 to 1945. He is now President of the Church Missionary Society and Chairman of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs.

Mollie Hicks will be Associate Editor.

The editor of *Frontier* will be John Lawrence, the present editor of the *Christian News-Letter*, who is both a member of the British Council of Churches and of many other Church bodies and a well-known writer and broadcaster on Russian affairs. He was British Press attaché in the Soviet Union during the war and founded and edited *British Ally*, a weekly journal of uncensored British publicity issued in Russian and circulated all over the Soviet Union with an estimated readership of half-a-million.

The office of *Frontier* receives an unrivalled service of information about matters of concern to Christians from all over the world. This material will be sifted and edited by *Frontier's* news editor, Mark Gibbs.

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Farewell and Hail!

THIS NUMBER OF *World Dominion* is the last. It is natural to sigh at the passing of a familiar landmark. *World Dominion* was first published in 1923. Of those early associated with it the Rev. Alexander McLeish is still, happily, with us. Dr. Thomas Cochrane died in 1953, Mr. E. J. Bingle this year, and the Rev. J. J. Cooksey and Dr. Henry Fowler have passed away. The Rev. Roland Allen had gone to live in Kenya for some years before his death. One by one, God calls His servants out of this battle into His rest, out of the flux and storm of time into the eternal peace of His presence. That is why it is always well to live our little lives against the background of eternity. Then, when the time comes, our broken lights can fade into the brighter radiance without loss or fear, and our little systems can be taken up into the fulness of God's purpose.

But memory, the music at the close of the years, can only too easily minister to a sentiment that is purely nostalgic. A goodly heritage is ours, in order that the present may be enriched by it. He to whom a thousand memories call can speak with moving power, but he must speak with the voice of today and declare his own vision. It serves no useful purpose to idolize the past. We have to learn its lessons, and heed its warnings, and pass on to live in the present. But much as we can learn, we shall not thereby be exempt from making mistakes. We learn not only from the past but from the living present; our compass is, perhaps, better balanced and more sensitive, but we sail our own seas on craft of our own design.

Throughout the years of its life *World Dominion* has striven to advance the purposes for which the Survey Application Trust was founded. It has described and discussed countless aspects of missionary policy in relation to the rising churches of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Pacific. It has consistently advocated self-support, self-government, and self-propagation. It has published a mass of information about the unevangelized peoples and areas of the world. In its Survey Service of the inter-war years, the World Dominion Press regularly issued substantial studies of the progress of the Gospel in many countries. And other groups and persons with similar objectives have been generously assisted.

The influence of this work has been various and considerable. Much discussion of missionary methods has been stirred up, and the importance of indigenous prin-

ciples has been generally recognized. Indeed lately there has been a marked revival of interest in Roland Allen's thought and teaching. Much has been done to bring out the nature and challenge of the unfinished task, and to stir up the Church and the churches to meet it. And co-operation between missions in the face of the magnitude of their responsibilities has been stimulated and helped forward.

There is very much in this approach which retains all its validity to-day. The word spoken in these years by *World Dominion* must still be heard. But it has perforce to be spoken in a world vastly different from that of its founders —so rapid is modern change.

The Second World War sharpened many world tendencies and set new currents a-flow among the nations. Nationalism greatly increased, anticolonialism became a world topic; and social and economic progress fascinated the minds of the peoples. The clash of colour and race has reached an acute stage of bitterness. Russia has taken her full place as a world Communist power, followed by China. The rise of Asia and the fall in prestige of the West have set the tone of a new world atmosphere. In the shadows, but also amid the hopes of the atomic age, man, the pygmy, struggles with the giants his own brain has created.

The Church, holding constantly to its great purpose of world evangelization, has to contend with the tensions and pressures of this new age. Self-support, self-government, self-propagation, have become not the peculiar problem just of India or Africa, but of the whole Church. Missionaries are not sent from the West to the East, but from the Church anywhere to the world everywhere. The ecumenical movement has become a reality. The churches of Asia have passed out of inferiority into equality with all its consequent responsibilities. The line between Christians and non-Christians is not demarcated by national culture, language, political outlook, or economic achievement, but by faith in Christ and obedience in discipleship. This is wholly right.

This strange and turbulent world crowds round the doors of the Church, and each must have its interpreter to the other. The Church must know what men are thinking about their own destiny, what the great world religions are saying and doing, why conditions of society make it hard for men to believe in God through Christ, why, in the mind of this world, the Church is too often failing in its task. But the Church must also know its own mind, or rather, the mind of Christ. It must study its faith and its task, it must read the yearning of men as much in Europe as in Asia. It must live ever alert, ever ranging on the frontiers of men's needs and triumphs.

In such a world, *World Dominion* cannot and does not say "goodbye" to its readers. It is enlarging its scope while retaining its original purposes and objectives. It is combining with the *Christian Newsletter* in a joint quarterly FRONTIER. And it is the full breadth and challenge of the world of to-day to Christ of all the days that *Frontier* intends to explore and interpret.

Keeping pace with new conditions

The Church in the Copperbelt

G. R. FRASER

THE ASSIGNMENT to write on the progress of the Church in the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia is a task far beyond the powers of the present writer. The following are only personal interpretations on what is happening in a complicated but significant focal-point in an area of rapid social change.

" The Church " is divided into a score of different groups, some expanding, some shrinking, some holding the faith in integrity with uprightness of life, some, by any standards, pathetically subversive and sinful.

By what yard-stick does one measure the progress of the Church ? It is difficult to measure its spiritual temperature, or its response to the challenge of its age and environment. It is tempting to take refuge in vagueness by saying : "After all, membership statistics are misleading and cannot indicate the vitality and obedience of the Church." But statistics at least reveal that " the Church " here is fragmented into an increasing number of denominations and sects working largely independently of one another, and that the rate of visible expansion is not commensurate with the rate of population increase.

The disaster of disunity

The fragmentation of the Christian community into so many groups, largely independent of one another, and largely separated racially, is surely the first impression that would dismay the hypothetical visitor stepping fresh from his flying saucer to check up on the habits of earth-men, after having done preliminary study of " the Nature of the Church." Perhaps, too, this is the basic contradiction that dismays the ordinary man of town and compound, discrediting the Church's claim to be the new humanity created in Christ, and sends him empty away. If he still joins, it is a fact that deflects and dwindles his discipleship into allegiance to a small society displaying more its human deviations than its divine origin and purpose.

Each year sees further competitive groups establishing themselves—the

Body scarcely discernible in the rival gatherings that seem so little aware of their membership one with another in the joint service of their one Lord. This increase of " churches " is not progress, but regress.

Centre or periphery ?

Take a concrete example, a new township is being laid out according to the best precepts of contemporary town-planning : at the centre of the community lie the buildings for welfare services. The parson suggests it is important that we bear in mind the spiritual need of the community, and that at the centre of its life we provide for church buildings. " But which Church, padre ? "—Roman Catholic, Dutch Reformed, Free Church, Anglican, Baptist, Methodist, Watchtower, one of the Pentecostal or Bantu National sects ? Each can put up some kind of building and cater for some of the spiritual needs of its circle of adherents. Each may work in complete isolation, or in rivalry, or even antagonism to its neighbouring fellow-members in Christ.

What they cannot do is to unite as the visible organized and unified body of Christ's Church, into which men are called to be His people, and which will be as a light shining to all around. So instead of being " seen of men " as the redeeming centre in the life of the community, the churches are built round the periphery—if possible separated far enough apart " not to interfere with one another." Can such a basic denial of the essential nature of the Church continue without mounting disaster ?

In the Copperbelt a great opportunity lay open to the Christian Church. A fresh field had suddenly appeared where Christian forces were asked to minister to the needs of the new communities being built up. Traditions of co-operation amongst the Missions operating in Northern Rhodesia, together with full encouragement from official government and mining authorities, who naturally wished to deal with " the Church " rather than with a host of competing sects, led to the formation of the United Missions. To this united organization was entrusted the responsibility of representing the Church's mission to the community—in education, in social welfare work, and the general service of the community. The different churches maintained their separate ecclesiastical structures and centres of worship (though the Free Churches combined as a single unit), but in education and welfare services the denominations worked together, contributing their quotas of staff and taking shares in the planning and oversight of the work jointly so supported. The churches had to embark on some measure of united working if they were to attempt to meet the needs of the community.

The dilemma of the priority task

Then came the stage, inevitable with strained staff resources, when doubts arose as to whether the primary task of the Church was being neglected, and whether various activities were sufficiently "church-centred," for example, youth work, adult classes, and work amongst women. By "church-centred" we were forced by our differences to mean "denomination-centred," and this at once tended to bring the discarding of community work in favour of work amongst such as were members and adherents of different denominations. In seeking to attend to the priorities of "church activities" some of us felt that the Church's mission became jeopardized. We left the ninety and nine in the wilderness and paid prior attention to the one within the fold. Visitors have sometimes remarked on our fine congregations, when we had, say, 500 packed in a little church—this in a compound of perhaps 40,000 souls! It is humbling to remember that the total accommodation for worship in our Free Church African congregations in the Copperbelt allows for just over one per cent. of the population.

Consolidation or retreat?

The theory was that if we concentrated on the strengthening of the faithful one per cent. then the Church's mission would no longer be carried out by a small group of professional missionaries, but would be borne by the Christian community itself, a correct aim surely, but a fatal method. The test lies in the fruits, and the question remains how long to await to see if the fruits appear.

It is perhaps not unfair to say that we rationalized our inability to cope with the vastly increasing demands on meagre staff numbers by saying to ourselves that we were now rightly "concentrating on the priorities of the Church's task," "integrating the work of Church and Mission," "giving the layman more place in the work of the Church."

So educational work was passed to government control, trusting that the creation of Local Authorities would give representatives of the whole community further responsibility and concern in the development of the schools. Relief from routine administration and form-filling was an almost unmixed blessing that we hoped would set us free to do essential tasks of religious instruction, and would give time for increased pastoral contacts with staff and pupils. In the event, however, freedom from responsibility for regular dealing with staff too

often meant loss of all contact with them, and the passing of managerial responsibilities too often meant that contact with pupils too became very uncertain. Community camps, and school occasions, because they were not " musts " in our diaries, slipped out of them almost completely One or two men clung to the opportunities that our new school relationships made possible, but the majority of us failed to keep in touch, let alone to increase effective influence as pastors and friends. And the African Church was unprepared to step into the gap.

So too, in the case of welfare activities, in some places the right laymen took over and developed the work in a way that greatly enhanced its scope and quality, but elsewhere the work built up over a period of years degenerated with distressing suddenness. Whether " a planned withdrawal " could have been achieved is debatable, for there were other factors at work, but the picture was rather one of " positions abandoned " in a general collapse of the church-front. Once more the overall effect was to isolate the work of the churches and missionaries from close contact with large sections of the communities whose confidence and friendship they had previously enjoyed. The aim of the missionary society is not the withdrawal of the missionary (unless he is a menace) but his replacement by a missionary Church, and premature withdrawal was not realignment but recklessness.

Perhaps the truth of the matter is that missionary societies and men on the field were trying to make the best of a bad job. The work was expanding beyond our strength; we were unable to cope with it, but were not quite prepared to admit that we were being forced to withdraw. We consoled ourselves that " plan B " was really an advance, but to both European and African people alike the impression created was not of consolidation, but of retreat, for we did not retire to prepared positions, but to a confused attempt to reform in smaller groups. United Christian effort to meet community needs had been too difficult to maintain.

Post-mortem item

One disability stuck out a mile. Home organization is not yet, as a rule, sufficiently geared for the maintenance of united work and for the recruitment of specialist staff outside the normal and traditional field establishment of the societies concerned (despite significant experiments now being made in this direction).

When secular agencies took over work previously undertaken by the United Missions, and openings appeared in key posts, it was not possible, under ordinary conditions of training and recruitment, to find the Christian personnel whom Mines, Government and Municipalities were prepared to welcome from the Church—despite energetic efforts by some who realized the importance of the new opportunities being offered.

Post-war conditions and the rate of development and expansion certainly contributed to the difficulties, both on the field and at the home base, but the fact remained that the Church had failed to keep pace with the need and had lost valuable contacts and ground at a most critical time in Central Africa. Many voices were being raised at home, stressing the importance of

events taking place, but little practical aid appeared available to enable the Church on the field to stand unitedly bearing its full share in the vital developments of the time. To many, of both races, the Church in the land was not regarded as relevant to the great political, industrial, and racial relationships at stake. I think it would be fair to say that in the actual use of resources the churches appeared more concerned with their duties of developing their denominational work, than of directing thought, prayer, funds and manpower towards the establishment of the Church (more widely conceived) in the lands they served. This is certainly not meant to be an impatient criticism, but often I believe there arises a real conflict between the desires of the home-supporters and those of the people whom they serve.

Europeans and the Church

In the ordering of God one task that did unquestionably develop at this time was the building up of the European congregations—timely in that so many were arriving from overseas to take up their home in a new land. The absence of the church fellowship would have affected adversely the whole tone and colour of the European, and therefore of the African community. In fact, however, newcomers found in every town a church and a considerable Christian community.

Despite much overseas opinion to the contrary, the average European in the Copperbelt is often a more loyal church-goer and a man of higher attitude in racial matters than the new arrival from overseas. Most households contribute regularly to church funds, most parents send their children to Sunday schools, most weddings are within the church, nearly all children are brought for baptism, adults as well as young folk come forward for confirmation—all this despite the strains of "mixed" denomination factors in marriage, of finding churches and services "different from what we had at home," and lack of parental and elderly influence! And despite the fact that Sunday is the great day for sporting fixtures, family picnics, and entertainments.

Instead of being assaulted by rough-fisted picturesque sins of construction camp days we are now menaced by the great smothering sins of suburbia, within the Church and without. But the churches gather their worshippers, instruct the young, and give support to endless appeals.

Is it the Church's social, economic, and political witness that is its weakness? Vital political matters affecting the whole racial outlook and future relationships of European and African are discussed in racially separate groups, except in Capricorn gatherings at which both races look askance. Europeans are divided into two main divisions—those standing for the maintenance of European domination, and those who hold a more liberal recognition of "equal rights for all civilized men." Africans as yet maintain a racially solid group and, as in industrial disputes, few venture to differ from the official line set by leaders, or to stand out as a minority against the solidarity of the community to which they belong—except perhaps members of the Watchtower sect.

Amongst the more individualistic of the European community, hundreds sincerely apply their faith to the industrial, political and social problems of the country. The Christian leaven is strongly at work in certain strata of society, but the voice of the Church is not sufficiently heard.

Africans and the Church, and progress

African townships and compounds are mostly out of sight of the European towns, so that the communities largely live their separate lives after work, especially the women and children, without having the problems of the multi-racial community thrust upon them. But changing relationships are making themselves felt. Rising African wage-standards mean that less African domestic help is employed, more Africans shop in stores previously used by Europeans only, and, the young particularly, wear expensive suits and dresses. Africans are gradually seeking, and in part attaining, material standards that previously belonged to the European alone, feeling their whole status is boosted thereby. Money, and the status it confers, is of tremendous importance to them, for example it is possible it may confer voting status. It is astonishing how many African children constantly talk about money.

In the industrial world, too, a steady improvement in the racial master-servant relationship is emerging, despite disputes and tensions which mark the change. I believe that, although so many individuals sincerely apply their Christian faith to the total environment in which they live, the Church, as such, is not recognized as being involved. The teaching that Christ is Lord of all life is applied usually in individualistic terms, and is not regarded as a challenge to the accepted patterns of community life.

The average African sees improved conditions, and social, economic and political advancement, as achievements of his own leaders and organizations, or as part of an inevitable move of human progress, and does not sense the pressures of Christian thought and civilization working for truer justice and progress and brotherhood.

Is there a visible community of Christ's People ?

How can the seeker be expected to see it when Christianity appears to some as a religion of the ruling race, or as an optional extra to the main business of life, or as a loose term covering numerous uncoordinated religious societies ?

There are many ready to assure him that the European Christian has a tribal god of his own with proprietary care for his own favourite people. Look at all the proofs ! Therefore the African had better organize his own " churches," copying any European church frills that appeal, but unfettered by ties with them.

Or again, how many Europeans really accept the teaching of our Lord, and are totally committed to him ? Is He not irrelevant to their lives outside the church building ? (And look at the different economic standards of the European and the African minister, or, if it comes to that, of the Christian in Britain and in Africa). When a Christian immigrant arrives what is his first con-

cern—surely to get a job and find a home, and to make himself and his family comfortable? It is all a little more obvious in a new country than in an older land where a man succeeds more naturally into the work of his family and community. The Kingdom of Christ is obscured by the compromises of Western materialistic civilization.

Again, it must be stressed that the vital difference between acceptance or rejection of the Gospel, with its outcome in sharing or refusing entrance into the fellowship of God's family on earth, is heavily obscured by the multiplicity of sects, with mushroom growth and decline, sometimes critical of, sometimes hostile to, the Church. One can join one of these or change to another that offers new things, or stand back from it all as irrelevant, or join some other kind of club or group. In fact it is rather like joining some club or friendly society, and you can link up with the group centred round it if you feel in need of that sort of thing; but it can hardly be looked upon as an issue of life and death whether one is or is not a member of Christ's Church. (Besides all this, of course, a very large percentage of neighbours have grown up attached to some church, perhaps through their elementary schooling, but have since forfeited or lapsed from their membership. It is not a matter of deep importance.)

In a village, particularly in an area where only one branch of the Church is to be found, there is the clear distinction of the Christian community and of those outside it. In the towns the Christian community is not clearly to be seen.

Is there Christian vitality?

The lack of new converts (we have perhaps 300 to 400 adult baptisms a year in the African "Free Churches" in the Copperbelt), and still more the dearth of African candidates for the ministry, reveal the absence of any vital movement of the Spirit or conviction of the greatness of the Church's task. "Let's launch campaigns in view of all this." The Copperbelt is a happy hunting ground for all types of campaign, semi-secular "character-training camps and campaigns" for youth, or evangelical campaigns specially directed to youth, M.R.A. team visits, "B'hai" and syncretist groups, numerous itinerant evangelists and evangelical bands considerably varying in merit and aim—Roman Catholic, Anglican and Free Church missions, with visiting missioners and prayerful preparation, both missions to the community and teaching missions within the churches. The only campaign that seems to make real headway—whether it be of Roman Catholic or Free Church, or indigenous movements like "Alice," or the strong

Watchtower—is that of the community, established in a town, people who go out continuously with conviction to share with their neighbours what they themselves have received from God. This out-going mission of the "Church" is too often something in which the "established churches" are woefully weak and the exotic sects notoriously evanescent.

The seed is, of course, growing secretly all the while, but the tares multiply very fast. One rejoices to see the European congregations concerned to make more faithful witness of unity with their African fellow Christians, and to see African congregations anxious to maintain a fellowship with fellow Christians which will not be prevented by "the divisions which you missionaries have brought." One notes too the powerful impact of materialistic and other forces which choke spiritual growth, and political and industrial groupings that command a far greater interest, loyalty and appeal to the community than do the churches—and how much the community means to the African!

Two things seem essential if the Church is to fulfil its mission

First, in this land and generation, there must be so deep a devotion to our one Lord that all lesser loyalties will fall into their correct and secondary place within the deeper allegiance of all to Him, manifested in a common fellowship, visibly reconciled and reconciling. Secondly, but simultaneously, outflowing from this fellowship united to His redeeming purpose for the whole world's life, there must be a ceaseless outreaching, not only to the needs of each man individually, but to the whole life of the community that, in all its relationships and organization, it may be consecrated by His rule and filled with His Spirit.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN ETHIOPIA

The First Ethiopian Evangelical College

His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, recently formally opened a secondary school, under the combined auspices of the Swedish Evangelical Mission, the Norwegian Lutheran Mission, and the Hermannsburg German Mission, for which he had already provided the site. This was at Debra Zayt, twenty-five miles from Addis Ababa. Its main cost was provided by the World Lutheran Federation. The present educational status of the school, which provides for 180 pupils, most of whom at first will be boys, will later be upgraded.

Ever since Karl Cederquist, the Swedish pioneer of evangelical missions in Ethiopia, fifty years ago advocated the establishing of secondary schools in Addis Ababa for boys and girls, it has been the aim of evangelical missions to provide higher education with an avowed spiritual background.

All missions are required by the Government to maintain primary schools, but hitherto there has been no institution to which pupils from these primary schools can proceed. The new school has met a real need.

Uganda: Life comes to the Church

JOHN POULTON

Preparation of a mission

EVERYWHERE there were signs that the time was ripe for an evangelistic mission in Uganda. From 1955 until 1957, we planned and prayed. And in the villages groups began to meet and study together, with the help of a series of Bible outlines in *Romans*. They found here the message that the mission must bring to the people. In the places where the groups took root best we began to see the Church finding new life. By the start of 1957 there was an air of expectancy: we were committed together to something that was going to be bigger than anything we had ever attempted before.

Pattern of a mission

This Diocese is divided into deaneries each about the size of an English county. The mission was planned on a deanery basis. The team leaders (of whom about half were European and half African) chose their teams from one deanery and took them to another. In this way each area felt it had a special responsibility in prayer towards at least one other. Many African members of teams gave up their annual leave, or left their land or their shops, to serve for a fortnight or so. Many offered transport free to move teams from one place to another.

A team of perhaps fifteen or twenty would arrive in a deanery centre. There had been a few chances of prayer and discussion before they left, but the first days were important in seeking together the strength they would need for the tasks ahead. Normally, therefore, the first week would be taken up with a sort of convention. Leaders of the Church in the area would come in to the centre,—the clergy, the lay readers (paid church teachers), sometimes leading laymen also. Each day there were Bible-study sessions, and times of prayer and final planning for the outreach work of the following week. In every place these were days of blessing. Had the mission never gone further than these conventions we believe that a lasting effect would have resulted. Many of our leaders (in and out of the teams) entered into a new experience of Christ in those days.

There was no attempt to decide in advance what should be the theme of these weeks, but in many places the text "Seek ye first" seemed to be God's word for the times. Uganda is seeking so many other things first—political independence (politics are a god

to many Christians), material prosperity, an easier pattern of morality, education. Many Christians accept too easily the pulls of materialism and need this call to put first things first.

In the second week the teams divided, usually two by two, and, with the help of local Christians, went out into the villages to preach. Normally there was little visiting. That had been done by the Christians in advance, and the mission itself concentrated on the preaching. There was plenty of it! A service might include three half-hour sermons and a testimony or two. Two hours was not considered long for a service; three hours did not seem to tire the listeners. And in almost every place the response was immediate and striking. People accepted the invitation to stay behind and to give their lives to Christ, not in ones and twos, but often in twenties and thirties. Despite the most careful and earnest attempts to turn aside any who were not absolutely ready for this step, we saw daily many being added to Christ.

Special efforts were made to reach the children in our secondary schools and the young people in the colleges. Among these there was such an eagerness to listen, to question, and to "decide," that the teams concerned had everywhere to adopt ruthless methods to ensure that their message was really understood, and that those who responded did so with the mind and will. This fact makes the results of this school-work even more significant. There was a welcome in government and private schools, as well as in mission schools. In the main we found ignorance of spiritual truth, but a hunger that seemed to accept at once the word that was given in ways acceptable to youth. The Church in Uganda has much to learn in this field.

The Kampala area also received a special team, and a protracted mission. For three months William Nagenda and a team, which varied from time to time and included members from all over East Africa, preached in the many tongues of a modern African city the gospel of the One Lord. Again, the response was immediate. Many found Christ.

Impact of a mission

It is no exaggeration to say that the mission has changed the face of the Church of Uganda. No clergyman has failed to catch a new vision of his calling as *evangelist*, and oppositions of the past to some forms of evangelism have melted because men everywhere have seen the power of the gospel to change lives. The future is bound to include a more urgent attitude towards the unsaved. Moreover, so many of those who were helped were regular churchpeople that a new outlook on what it means to be a Christian has come to stay. In many churches the teacher, the churchwardens, perhaps a local chief, or a political man respected in the local community, were converted, and made public acknowledgment of things they would put right. This was a movement of the Spirit that men could not deny. In one area where many highly placed people were converted it is said that in the councils of the land the feeling

was expressed that these had chosen well, and that others would have followed if they had had the courage. It is not easy anywhere for a politician or ruler to relate his faith to his career, but the temptations for an African threaten at times to be overwhelming. The results remain to be seen in Uganda.

It is well-known that the past ten years have seen a drift away from the Church here, and especially more recently in Buganda. There has been some revival of paganism, though certainly in Buganda that seems to be partly a political assertion of rebellion against "the Europeans' religion." There is plenty of evidence from the mission's reports of the widespread reliance (even among Christians) on magic of one sort and another. A number of witch-doctors were converted and came and burnt their paraphernalia, and for every one of those there was a score of their adherents who came into light from that darkness of fear and superstition. Again, the message "seek ye first" has relevance, for there remain too many who, although they pray in our churches, still use charms to get a child, or to protect a baby who has been baptized. Uganda is Christian just so far — and the mission barely touched the problem of this compromise among our church-folk.

Perhaps the most obvious change that we see to-day is in the Church's attitude to youth. There had been a slowly growing interest in Sunday schools and youth services in the past few years, but, since the witness of the mission to the readiness of our young to respond to the gospel when they can understand it, there has grown up an urgency about it all. Deaneries are organizing Sunday school training weekends, and appealing for help. More Christian camps are being organized. The demand for literature increases. And clergy who had never before shown any marked interest now debate heatedly what ought to be done for their young people. There is bound, for the time being, to be a reliance on missionary leadership in this because it is, for Uganda, a great experiment into the unknown. But no one doubts it is a call from God which must be answered.

No less a revolution in thought has come about because of the largely lay membership of the teams that took part. It would be too much to say that the responsibilities of the laity are now fully understood and welcomed universally by the clergy, but a great change is taking place. Uganda church-life has always tended to be rigidly divided into strata of responsibility: preaching was not a lay task, and evangelism was a paid professional exercise. But great cracks are now appearing in this too fixed framework. Lay "treasurers" are accepting the chores of a parish so that the paid agents of the church can be free to get on with the job. Visiting, as part of parish life rather than as the means of raising cash, has come as something revolutionary in some parts. We must not exaggerate all this: the African has a deep-rooted sense of what is right and wrong for a certain class to do. What we are seeing is the beginning of a break-through. Lay

leadership must emerge, but often it will do so in the face of doubt and uncertainty.

What now ?

Results will depend, in part, upon the lead which the Church Missionary Society can give, in particular in youth work. But, in the main, it is out of our hands. During the mission there was not any leader who did not bear testimony to the fact that we were very much in God's hands, and that He was doing things His way. This was quite outstanding—something more vivid than many had previously experienced. In it lies our real hope for the future. God Himself has brought to the Church of Uganda to-day a fresh vision and purpose. He cannot fail to show His people the way in which He intends them to be fulfilled. Our prayers for the Church here should therefore concentrate upon obedience; that, through our councils and through our parish life, we may come together to know and do God's will in furthering this good work which He has begun.

Ethiopia and the Vatican

THE ETHIOPIAN MINISTRY of Foreign Affairs announced on the 20th March, 1957, that the Imperial Government and the Holy See had arranged to establish diplomatic relations at the legation and internuncial level. This is the first time since the introduction of Christianity into the country in the fourth century that a papal nuncio will reside in the Ethiopian capital, and a Minister representing Ethiopia at the Vatican.

After the second world war Ethiopia was visited by two British representatives of the Hierarchy, and from 1946 until his death last year the Belgian Mgr. Theodore Monens lived in Addis Ababa as special envoy of the Holy See. The Pope was represented at the Silver Jubilee of the Emperor's coronation in 1955, while two Ethiopian representatives were present at the Vatican on the occasion of the Pope's eightieth birthday.

It is claimed that Ethiopia has 115,000 Roman Catholics, of whom about 15,000 are Europeans. Roman Catholic priests excluding Europeans working as missionaries, number 176. Schools are quoted as 55, of which 10 in Addis Ababa cater for about 1,500 pupils. The 30 schools in Harar have 3,400 pupils, while those in Eritrea numbering 15, claim about 6,000.

A Pontifical seminary connected with Ethiopia has existed in Rome since 1919. This seminary has about 100 students at the present time. This replaced a hostel attached to a church which was dedicated to St. Stephen of Abyssinia at the end of the fifteenth century, a time when many Ethiopian pilgrims were visiting the city. Ethiopian representatives attended the Council of Florence in 1441, and an embassy waited on Pope Sixtus IV in 1481.

It is reasonable to assume that the establishing of diplomatic relations with the Holy See will lead to an expansion of Roman Catholic educational and missionary work in the country.

A.H.

The South African scene

R. H. W. SHEPHERD

THE TENSION between Church and State has not been resolved, so that churchmen of South Africa outside the Dutch Reformed Church, and also not a few within that body, wait for the Government's next move. Parliament is in recess until December or possibly January, so that the flood of new legislation has been stopped. Among the measures enacted this year was the "church clause" of the Native Laws Amendment Bill. This, after various redraftings, may be summarized in its final form as:

> The Minister may by notice in the *Gazette* direct that the attendance by Africans of any church or religious service outside a Native residential area shall cease on a date specified, if in his opinion the presence of Natives causes a nuisance to residents or is undesirable having regard to the locality. The Minister must get the concurrence of the local authority, and the church affected will have an opportunity to make representations before the clause is enforced. Any African who thereafter contravenes the notice is liable to be sent to gaol.

The Christian Council of South Africa, which represents all the major churches and missionary societies except the Dutch Reformed and Roman Catholic churches, has declared in no uncertain terms that the clause remains an offence to the conscience of the majority of Christians in South Africa, and so "we shall be forced to disregard the law and to stand wholeheartedly by the members of our churches who are affected by it." The Christian Council does not favour churches taking any deliberately provocative action but recommends that its member bodies should continue to function in exactly the same way as they have always done, holding multiracial meetings and services where and when they have customarily held them. If and when the Minister decides to implement the Act in any area or in relation to any church, it is envisaged that the Council will summon an emergency conference of church leaders.

* * *

On Sunday, the 14th of July 1957, messages from the bishops were read from Anglican pulpits all over the country calling upon all clergy and members to disobey the Act. The Bishop of Grahamstown, the Rt. Rev. A. H. Cullen, who is Acting Metropolitan of the Church until the new Archbishop, Bishop Joost de Blank of Stepney, takes up his appointment, said in his pastoral letter that Christians recognized the authority of the State but not when the State impinged on things which are God's. Dr. Cullen announced that all Anglican churches within

his diocese—and this applies also to all the other dioceses—would continue to admit *bona fide* worshippers regardless of colour in spite of the church clause. To allow secular officials to have the right to determine whom among its members the Church should admit was, said the Bishop, to give Caesar the things that are God's. The Bishop continued:

> If any action is taken under the clause, clearly the Church may not accept that action. The clergy are under ecclesiastical obligations not to refuse the ministry of the Word and the sacraments to any person whatsoever who presents himself as a *bona fide* worshipper in any place under their jurisdiction. That is an age-old principle of the Church. The Church has, therefore, the duty of disregarding anything in despite of this. We, the Bishops, therefore call upon clergy and people in our diocese to continue to behave as they have always done. And if there are persons who find themselves subject to penalties because of their loyalty, we urge all church people by their prayers and such material means as are open to them to support them as well as their dependants.

The Bishop prefaced this declaration by explaining that Dr. Verwoerd had said that he did not wish to injure the autonomy of the Church. The text of the new law, however, did not support that contention, said the Bishop. The Minister's words had not been consistent and there was no guarantee that Dr. Verwoerd's successors would exercise restraint. The Bishop explained:

> One of the most striking elements in the Gospel is its emphasis on spiritual freedom. There is no freedom, however, if all Christians are not free to associate for religious purposes. A dictatorship assumed by one Cabinet Minister, even with parliamentary sanction, to regulate how or with whom Christians shall carry out their duties of religious worship, denies freedom. It is an aspect of totalitarianism, a kind of deification of the State.

Bishop Cullen said the first believers disobeyed the command by the State not to preach the Gospel. "God must be obeyed rather than man. The early Christians paid for their disobedience with their lives, but as a result there is a living Church."

* * *

The Roman Catholic Bishops have pronounced along similar lines. Their declaration read:

> The Catholic Bishops, having taken note of legislation enacted in the last session of Parliament through the Native Laws Amendment Act and the Group Areas Amendment Act, solemnly declare —Firstly, that no other authority than the hierarchy has competence to decide on the admittance of persons to Catholic places of worship. Secondly, the Catholic churches must and shall remain open to all without regard to their racial origin. In consequence the Bishops inform their clergy and flock that there is no restriction on attendance at any Catholic church, and that they, the Bishops, take full responsibility for admission to Catholic churches.

* * *

The stage is thus set for a major conflict, and the question is: "Will the Government strike?" There

are indications that it may not in the immediate future. In the first half of 1958 a general election is due, and there is a widespread belief that when the Dutch Reformed Church leaders interviewed Dr. Verwoerd and obtained from him a promise to redraft the clause, agreement was also reached that the clause would not be implemented, at least until after the general election. Of the profound uneasiness in the Dutch Reformed Churches, and among many supporters of the Government, there can be no doubt. Dr. Verwoerd has openly declared that he has been preparing the way for his successor as Minister of Native Affairs, and it is being pointed out that no one has held the office so long as he. There can be little doubt that he will soon give up the office, and the only question that remains is whether this will take place before or after the general election. It is noteworthy that the influential Johannesburg newspaper, *Die Vaderland,* which consistently supports the Government, has recently appealed to the Prime Minister to intervene to prevent the implementation of the church clause. During the recent parliamentary session, and despite the long and heated debates, no member of the Cabinet, from the Prime Minister downwards, spoke in favour of the clause, although repeated appeals were made by the Opposition that the Prime Minister should state his own personal position. So far Mr. Strydom has made no public statement on the controversy.

* * *

Supporters of the Government's *apartheid* measures have had further cause for dismay in that one of the most revered and learned professors of the Church, Professor B. B. Keet, has recently made the most trenchant of all his attacks on the *apartheid* doctrine. Before a distinguished audience in Johannesburg he described *apartheid* as "impractical," "immoral" and "a threat to white South Africa." He said it represented the attitude of the guilty conscience which does not seek the cause of its guilt in itself but in the proximity of those who occasion the feeling of guilt. The social side of man's existence receives no less emphasis than the individual aspect in Christian ethics, said Professor Keet. But what did characterize Christian ethics was the emphasis laid on the worth of the individual, his personality and his freedom, which were essential to responsibility. Professor Keet declared that any view which regards the group as of preponderating importance, even to the suppression of the individual, must be condemned as unethical from a Christian standpoint. It is just here, Prof. Keet declared that *apartheid* proves to be fundamentally wrong because it sacrifices the individual to the generalizations of group thinking. He went on to say that in South Africa there has been developed a caste system which surpasses all others of its kind, and he added that colour prejudice was probably the greatest single factor in the creation of black nationalism, where groups of widely divergent interests were driven together to form a solid front hostile to the whites.

Another Professor, L. J. du Plessis, head of the Department of Law at Pochefstroom, which has been called the cradle of Calvinism in South Africa, has spoken his mind about relaxing social *apartheid* for educated non-Europeans —a question that has become a burning one in South Africa. He said: "We shall have to face it. There is no way of evading the issue. In some way or other the Government or other interested bodies will have to make provision for the accommodation of foreign as well as South African V.I.P.s and for a common meeting ground where White and non-White could consult with each other." Professor du Plessis said that many non-Whites had reached a stage of development which put them on a par with the White man. He declared, "At present it seems to me the furthest we could go is to concentrate on co-operation between the different racial elements. Isolated, no satisfactory solution can be found."

The various trends all give point to the view of a discerning American churchman who after a recent visit to South Africa wrote: "There are many ministers in the Dutch Reformed Church who are critical, but given a little time, and with the crisis getting worse, they will speak."

PILOTS FOR THE AFRICAN CHURCH

(*Concluded from page* 234)

"light" and the "fire" are needed. Knowledge and zeal must go hand-in-hand in a task so complex, so vitally important and so urgent.

The question has been asked elsewhere: "To what extent should any nationalistic outlook be recognized?" Should not the answer to this question also be, "To the fullest extent possible"? God has already raised up many African Christian leaders of great devotion and ability. If some missions lack such men, neighbouring missions may have them. Their help and advice on matters affecting the Church of Christ in their own land must be sought. Already in some parts of Africa it is no longer the missionary who has the final word in church matters. The mission has been merged into the Church and missionaries serve at the invitation of that Church. So the Church in Africa of the future—and the very near future in some places—will be led and guided by Africans and not by the "foreign" missionary. This fact, above all others, makes the task of training the ministry in Africa, where it is not already being adequately attempted, desperately urgent—if it is not already too late.

Who shall lead Africa to prayer?

Pilots for the African Church

H. WAKELIN COXILL

IT IS NOW THREE YEARS since the International Missionary Council published parts two and three of its Report of a survey of the training of the ministry in Africa. Part II concerned itself with Angola, Belgian Congo, French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, Liberia, Mozambique and Ruanda-Urundi, and the survey was conducted and the report prepared by Dr. M. Searle Bates, the Rev. Christian G. Baëta, Dr. Frank Michaelé and Dr. Bengt G. Sundkler. Part III was the report prepared by Dr. Norman Goodall and the Rev. Eric W. Nielsen following their study of the situation in the Union of South Africa, Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland during the latter part of 1953.

The conclusions of both reports were, in general, very similar. It was found that, for the most part, in the territories visited, the training of an African ministry was quite inadequate and that the need for further effort to remedy this weakness facing the Protestant Church in Africa was serious and urgent.

Prof. Kenneth Scott Latourette, as long ago as 1935 made the observation when writing on "The Uniqueness of the Christian Ministry" that: "In general, Protestant Missions have had much more marked success in fostering education, in introducing modern medicine and in fighting social ills than in the tasks which most missionaries and mission boards have declared to be central." One of the reports, mentioned above, stated: "It is our regretful conclusion that, as regards South and Central Africa, Professor Latourette's main charge remains valid," adding: "It is just possible that it is not too late to remedy the defects."

Now, in 1957, we must ask ourselves again, are we remedying the defects? Is it now too late? Some missions and also groups of missions have taken the whole question of the training of the ministry in Africa seriously and are doing a splendid work, but this cannot be said of all and opportunities may be missed that will never come again.

The changes that are taking place in many parts of Africa to-day are so deep, widespread and rapid as to be almost beyond our comprehension. Africa is awake and on the move and the wheels are turning with an irresistible and growing momentum. Not only is the

economic development remarkable but for masses of people there has come a new outlook and outreach. Ghana has received political independence and in many other parts of the Continent the question being asked now is not so much whether they will follow Ghana's lead, but rather how, and when.

Paternalism, that has been the policy of many Western peoples toward the African, is, in many areas, gone or rapidly going. The Governor-General of the Belgian Congo, in a remarkable speech given earlier this year, said: "Gradually the time is coming when, renouncing the old and touching phrase, 'You are my father,' the Native will say to the white man, 'You are my brother.'" In a speech given a year earlier, King Baudouin of the Belgians, on his return from a visit to the Congo, said:

> For the Congo of to-day, the essential question is—I must stress it—that of human relations between white and black. It is not enough to provide modern equipment for the country, to give it a wise social legislation or to improve the standard of living of its inhabitants. In their daily contacts, white and black should also give proof of the greatest possible understanding of one another. When that has been achieved the moment will have come—though the exact date of its advent cannot yet be stated—for giving to our African territories a statute which, to the lasting happiness of everybody concerned, will ensure the perpetuity of a genuine Belgo-Congolese community, guaranteeing to all, black and white, the share due to them in the government of the country, according to their merits and qualifications.

The best political leaders in Africa, white and black, accept the change that has come or is coming and seek to find a peaceful and happy solution to the many problems involved. Is the Church of Christ in Africa showing the same care and forethought?

It is certain that many missions have for long practised "paternalism," even if they have not called it by that name, and one fears that there are still many Protestant missions and missionaries acting as if unaware that a change must come. An experienced Indian missionary said to the writer recently: "The only difference between the Church in India and in Africa is that you in Africa are twenty years behind." The missions in Africa could undoubtedly learn much from India and from China but many missionaries are so occupied with the work they are doing—and a magnificent work it may be—that forward vision and planning may be lacking and the Church of the future will suffer thereby.

If missionaries really wish the African Christians to "renounce the old and touching phrase, 'You are my father' for 'You are my brother,'" many will have to give more thought, prayer and effort to the training of the ministry in Africa. If the missions to-day, while they still may have the time, fail to train African Christian leaders for the ministry they will fail indeed. Without such men the Africa of to-morrow will also lack earnest Christian school teachers, out-and-out Christian medical workers, Christian political leaders, Christian homes, and a strong, self-propagating, self-supporting Church.

The Fellowship of Interdenominational Missionary Societies (F.I.M.S.), following a conference held in October, 1956, gave much wise counsel in a brochure entitled, *The Urgent Priorities in Foreign Missions.* Regarding "paternalism" we read:

> We are passing through a period of change, from paternalism—benevolent dictatorship—to partnership. In the transition period there were dangers of separatism on the part of missionaries, and nationalism on the part of the Church: the too sudden application of indigenous principles on the one hand, or, on the other, the self-assertion of the growing Church when missionary control was held too long. Instead there should be a proceeding together into happy partnership.

The Conference of the F.I.M.S. also faced up to the very live issue of the relation of the "Mission" to the "National Church" and made the following statement:

> In the period of transition certain attitudes should be watched for. The attitude of the foreign missionary to the National Church should be a positive one. The teaching should be Biblical, practical and of immediate application. Biblical—nationals and missionaries studying the Scriptures together, thus breaking down the barrier between teacher and taught, and looking to the Lord to speak to both equally. Practical—mutual discussion of such matters as church government and finance; thus training the national for leadership. Of immediate application—but with responsibility delegated in stages, the ultimate goal being the mission so merged in the Church that it ceased to be a separate entity. The formation of the Church was the work of the Holy Spirit. We had tended to think of it in terms of the Church we had planted becoming self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating. We had discovered that if it was to grow, the first must be last, for that which was self-propagating would become self-governing.

It seems to some that the churches in Africa of the denominational missions are, for the most part, more advanced toward self-government than are the interdenominational ones. We wonder if this is true. Certainly some of the latter, in a sincere and understandable desire to "keep first things first," concentrated their efforts on "direct evangelism" and did very little serious educational work. But as the Church grew through the preaching of the Gospel by the missionaries there were not sufficient missionaries to cope with the increasing demands and opportunities, nor trained African Christians to take over the task, nor well educated Christian lads offering to enter into the ministry. So the work bogged down and "backsliders" almost, if not quite, outnumbered those admitted from time to time into the Church. Some denominational missions also have to admit this.

A missionary of a denominational mission—himself the son of a missionary—working at a station in Central Africa that is now just fifteen years old, wrote to the writer recently:

> We have taken a step forward here on our station that we'd dreamed of for a long time. After a full year of training, we've ordained a group of five laymen to eldership and oversight of the local Church. There is no church organization, no congregation as

such, no deacons, etc., but we are trying to work from the top down. In earlier years many independent churches were set up and turned loose, and nearly all of them collapsed after a few years, due to the fact that the leadership was completely untrained. Not even the pastors knew very much about what a local church was supposed to do or could do. So we are trying to train the leaders first, and gradually give them responsibility and help, and then put a congregation into their hands. We have two young men, both members of the local tribes, who are to be ordained as pastors this summer.

That missions and missionaries might help the growing Church in Africa to be self-propagating was the why and the wherefore of the I.M.C. surveys. One of the reports recommended, among many other things, that not less than one-fourth of missionary personnel and effort should be, without reserve, directed to the training of ministers and of lay workers in the churches. This, it was emphasized, must be in addition to what is done in general schools and for the training of school teachers. The Commission also recommended that determined efforts be made to provide for an increasing number of well-trained African pastors and was convinced that there must be more inter-church and inter-mission co-operation in this urgent task of the training of the ministry. Both reports drew attention to the very special qualifications required of those engaged in this work, spiritual and academic, and for the need of men, "who are not only aware of the issues but who have the aptitude to listen much to Africans as well as to teach them."

To what extent is there likely to be closer inter-mission and inter-church co-operation? There is a paragraph in the Statement of the Fellowship of Interdenominational Missionary Societies which reads:

> Our relationship to the Overseas Church depended upon our concept of it from the beginning. For example, denominational missions (not missionaries) were, on the whole concerned with the extension of the historic Church; whereas interdenominational missions tended to build individual local churches.

If this is the case is there not a weakness here both in the denominational and also in the interdenominational concept? Is there not a danger that some denominational missions are carrying to the mission fields to-day, and are keeping alive there, historic ecclesiastical differences which many regret and which may tend to divide increasingly the Church of Christ in Africa? But if the interdenominational missions tend "to build individual local churches" will not this also result in regrettable division?

In many parts of Africa the missions have, so far, accepted clearly defined fields of influence. This has been done in a spirit of most praiseworthy Christian harmony and co-operation. The aim has been to try to occupy for Christ and evangelize as large an area as possible without overlapping and friction between the neighbouring societies. This has naturally resulted in certain tribes receiving all their Christian teaching from missionaries of one denomination or another, or from one or other of the interdenominational societies. The people them-

selves have had no say whatever in these divisions.

As the national Church becomes, as we all pray it will, increasingly self-propagating, and the missions become more and more merged into that Church, will these divisions remain and become a source of weakness or will the national Church seek to draw its various parts closer the one to the other thereby gaining in strength and spiritual power? Will the Church in Africa, when it becomes independent of the missionary societies that, under God, have been used to bring it into being, criticize and condemn certain missions and missionaries for the policies they are following to-day? This is a heart-searching question but not, from experience elsewhere, an idle one.

In the training of the ministry in Africa the denominational missions have, for the most part, certain immediate advantages if they follow the traditional church order and methods into which their missionaries have been trained and to which they have become accustomed. Methods of training for the ministry have been worked out in the sending countries, often through many generations. An order of church government, discipline, theological emphasis and worship has been understood and accepted. Now, in the training of the ministry in Africa similar methods and procedure can be, and generally are, adopted. Certain problems that confront the interdenominational missions are not their problems.

One interdenominational mission working in Africa has fearlessly and rightly raised, for instance, the question of ordination and asks what is the standard to be reached by local nationals before ordination would be considered. This is, of course, a question to be faced by all. But the mission in question also asks:

> What concept of ordination is to be adopted and by what authority will candidates be ordained? When indigenous churches are established what relationship will exist between that church and the "foreign missionary"? When native churches are established will government be by episcopacy, presbytery or by the congregation? To what extent should any nationalistic outlook be recognized?

It does seem imperative that the interdenominational missions face these questions and it would be a cause of great thanksgiving if they could find a common answer to them.

The Congo Protestant Council at its annual meeting this year, when sixteen Congolese Christians were present as full voting members, recommended that the term "*pasteur*" be restricted to the designation only of men having received secondary education and theological training. This recommendation was made because of the wide divergence in training given at present by the missions to men carrying the title of "*pasteur*." The Government is willing to respect the title of "*pasteur*" in the Protestant Church but it does expect those who carry it to have had an academic and theological training in some ways comparable to that given to ordained African Roman Catholic priests. We know that one interdenominational mission at least

feels at present unable to accept this recommendation. This mission considers it sufficient that a man be recommended by the local Church Council, and that his nomination be approved by a "General Council," for the mission to appoint him as a "pasteur."

As to the standard to be reached before ordination it is helpful to recall that Dr. Norman Goodall and the Rev. Eric Nielsen wrote in their report:

> In discussing the question of "improving" or "raising" standards of ministerial training, we found ourselves increasingly reluctant to define the issue mainly in terms of curricula or of higher academic standards. "Higher" training needs to be deeper in the sense of penetrating more surely into the theological and spiritual factors involved wherever the Gospel meets paganism. More advanced academic theology cannot in itself guarantee that this depth of theological understanding will be reached. The need for this "improvement" is as apparent at a university level as it is where theology is being taught to men whose general education finished with Standard VIII or Junior Certificate. The deepening of theological teaching can and should be sought at all levels of ministerial training.

In seeking to encourage a great advance in the training for the ministry in Africa none would make it a question of academic standards *or* a fully-consecrated Christian life. It is not a question of one or the other but rather how can more Spirit-filled African Christians be encouraged to enter into the service of the Church and be best equipped for that ministry.

While we thank God for the great work that has been done by the old type of "pastor" in Africa —good, God-fearing men for the most part, who could preach the Word but who sometimes could barely read it—the Africa of to-day and to-morrow demands men no less fervent and spiritually minded but better trained for their great task, both in serving the Church that now exists, and in confronting the old and the new paganism that surrounds it. There is undoubtedly a danger that the "better educated" young men of a newer generation will be tempted to think themselves much superior to the older type of pastor and, not respecting him, will not listen to him. But these young men, with their expanding vision and powers, are also men for whom our Saviour died and for whom the Church has a growing responsibility.

Both the Fellowship of Interdenominational Missionary Societies and the two Reports of the International Missionary Council agree that in this whole question of the training of the ministry the missions should confer and act more together. It is to be hoped that not only will the various interdenominational missions together seek God's leading in the many problems confronting them in Africa to-day, but that there will also be the closest possible co-operation with the denominational missions in the areas where they work. Someone has said that certain missions have the "light" and others have the "fire." We ourselves would not venture to say which has which, but both the

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Portugal to-day

JOSÉ DA SILVA

PERCHED on the extreme south-west corner of Europe, Portugal has exerted an influence on the history and geography of the world out of all proportion to her size (34,254 sq. miles, slightly larger than Scotland) and population (7,921,913, or less than that of London).

With poetic and therefore pardonable exaggeration Portugal has been described as "a green garden washed by a warm ocean, where the grape, the olive and other kindly fruits grow thick and fast, and the sardines hurl themselves upon a shore white with almond blossom." But Portugal is far from being a naturally rich country, and if it is ceasing to be a poor one, that is due more to its own efforts than to the bounty of nature.

The Estado Novo

The country's revival has been shaped and directed by one man, Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, and carried out under an authoritarian régime which frankly proclaims its distaste for parliamentary democracy. The triumvirate of Service officers who in May 1926 overthrew the last of a sad succession of ineffective party governments came nowhere near a solution to the country's basic problems until, two years later and after many misgivings, they appointed Dr. Salazar to be Minister of Finance with virtual dictatorship over all economic affairs. This austere, dedicated ex-University Professor (who since 1932 has also been Prime Minister without sign of possible rival) has shown an astonishing ability to use power without becoming its victim. He originally planned to enter the priesthood and his room-mate at University is now Cardinal-Patriarch of Lisbon.

Educational progress

Until comparatively modern times Portugal had an exceedingly high illiteracy rate, but a few years ago Salazar appointed two dynamic young men as Minister and Under-Secretary for Education respectively, and a surprisingly successful two-pronged attack was made on this great problem. The Minister set himself to improve and extend the existing school system and throughout the country hundreds of rural primary schools in the most remote villages have sprung up, and more and more secondary schools have been added in the towns and cities. At the same time, the Under-Secretary organized a widespread and energetic campaign for adult education by means of evening classes, material incentives, and mobile libraries—the target for the

latter being 100 titles in editions of 10,000 each, specially written and illustrated to provide interesting material in attractive style on an extensive range of practical as well as cultural subjects. Among these books is an admirable *Life of Christ* which, although written by a Roman Catholic priest, has found wide acceptance in evangelical circles. The net result is that illiteracy has been reduced from an estimated sixty per cent. ten years ago to a present thirty-five per cent. with a target in the foreseeable future of only ten per cent.

Bible sales

The British and Foreign Bible Society maintains a depot in Lisbon and, with the Scottish Bible Society, has a number of colporteurs constantly visiting country fairs and travelling into the remoter districts, as well as having a well-patronized stall at the annual *Feira do Livro* in Lisbon's main square. Total sales last year amounted to the encouraging figure of 251,497, including Bibles, Testaments and Scripture portions.

The modern movement within the Roman Church to stimulate the reading of the Bible is being felt in Portugal, and many bishops and padres are actively supporting it. At the same time a campaign is in progress to circulate one million copies of the Gospels in special editions, which, while they contain lamentable errors in the footnotes, are indeed the Word of God. A translation of the New Testament from the original Greek is also in progress: existing translations are based on the Vulgate. All this holds hope for the future.

Church and State

The Republican Constitution of 1911 proclaimed the complete separation of Church and State. This Constitution as rewritten in 1933 and amended in 1935 and 1951 maintains this separation but proclaims the Roman Catholic religion as the religion of the nation. This is an important change, but, with particular reference to the tension in India, Prime Minister Salazar has publicly stated that "the Portuguese family is sufficiently broad to include members of other Faiths." Freedom of worship is guaranteed to these "other Faiths."

Relations between the Portuguese State and the Vatican have by no means always been cordial, for there is a strong strain of anti-clericalism in the Portuguese national character.

Concordat

Nevertheless a "Concordat" with the Vatican, containing 31 Articles, was signed on the 7th of May 1940, and regulates the internal working of the Roman Church in its relations with the State. The Church was given legal standing and recognition, and its property restored. Papal Bulls may be published freely, and within Portugal bishops can be appointed by the Vatican. In return, the Concordat preserves to Portugal *the Padroado do Orient,** "the grandest jewel in Portuguese history"—namely the right of Portugal to nominate bishops for the Eastern dioceses, a historic privilege going back to the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. Foreign-born priests must pass through Lisbon and are obliged to use the Portu-

**The Patronage of the East.*

guese language in their establishments. The accompanying "Missionary Agreement" (slightly amended in July 1950 because of changed conditions in India) extends the provisions of the Concordat to the Portuguese Overseas Provinces—as the Colonies are now called—and grants substantial subsidies and other privileges to the Roman Catholic missions there, while enforcing the teaching of the Portuguese language to the native populations.

Freedom of Religion

The evangelical churches enjoy full freedom of worship but their external activities are considerably restricted. Open-air Gospel meetings are prohibited and only rarely can permission be obtained for a special gathering such as a Convention in a public hall. However, direct persecution, except in remote country districts, is rare and is not to be compared with the bigotry found in Spain. The Portuguese temperament is more tolerant than the Spanish and is free from the streak of fanatical cruelty so common in the neighbouring country.

Early history

The Iberian bishops were always somewhat independent spirits and the difficulties and slowness of communication with Rome during the early part of the Christian era added to this. As far back as the fourth century Bishop Priscillian of Braga in North Portugal was being reproved for his lack of orthodoxy. He was a Spaniard of wealth and position whose learning and zeal brought him a considerable following in both his country of birth and in Portugal. Although he and six others were beheaded in A.D. 385 for teaching such heretical doctrines as the right of laymen to take part in communal Bible readings and the duty of personal judgement based on the study of the Scriptures, evidence of the deep and widespread influence of his life and work still existed some two centuries later.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century the effect was also felt of the Lollards who had come with Philippa of Lancaster when she married King John I of Portugal, but this effect was largely confined to court circles.

Reformation and Counter-Reformation

The Reformation movement in Europe made slow progress over the Pyrenees. Some scholars and others were influenced by the writings of the Reformers, but they were exterminated or expelled by the bitter ruthlessness of the Inquisition. By threat or penalty the supremacy of the Roman Church was maintained. In fact, until 1880 it was a criminal offence to apostatize from the State religion. This influence of the Inquisition is considered by many still to be a factor in Portuguese psychology. But the light was not entirely shut out, and with the arrival in Portugal of a group of Spanish religious refugees, the Episcopal, or *Lusitana* Church was established.

Evangelical development

In 1833 Dr. Robert Kalley, a physician from Scotland, arrived in the island of Madeira where he opened a small hospital and school and during twelve years preached the Gospel with most remarkable results. Thousands were converted

and revival spread throughout the Island, but the Roman hierarchy stirred up tremendous persecution, burning down the Doctor's residence and hounding the believers into the mountains. Many died but others fled to Brazil, Bermuda, Trinidad and Florida where their testimony is still in evidence.

The Church of Scotland commenced work in Lisbon in 1870, and about the turn of the century was followed by representatives of the Methodist, Congregational and Baptist denominations. Charles Swan, a "Brethren" missionary formerly in Angola, came to Portugal in 1906 and an Assembly was formed two years later. The fruits of these labours still persist though progress has been comparatively slow. Since the War a seminary has been opened at Carcavelos by the Presbyterian Church of America, and at Leiria by the Conservative Baptists, and many dedicated young men have been prepared for the ministry.

The *Accion Biblique* is being blessed in Southern Portugal, and more recently the Evangelical Alliance Mission has entered the picture with encouraging results, particularly through its book-room in Lisbon which is meeting an urgent and growing need. Probably the greatest expansion at the present time is seen among the Pentecostal assemblies. This movement came to Portugal from Sweden about twenty years ago and with rare exceptions is non-extreme in character. It has spread amazingly and penetrated into some hitherto unreached areas.

No thoroughly reliable figures are available, but the following table gives a conservative estimate of the number and size of the various evangelical churches:—

Denomination	Churches	Missions	Communicant Members
Accion Biblique	6	30	600
Baptist	31	23	1660
Brethren	25	29	2000
Congregational	4	8	250
Independent (TEAM)	8	15	250
Lusitana (Episcopal)	11	6	1000
Methodist	9	8	1000
Pentecostal	20	60	3000
Presbyterian	15	21	1400
Total	129	200	11,160

It has been calculated that the total number of *simpatizantes* (interested persons who more or less regularly attend the services) is between 35,000 and 50,000.

There is a happy spirit of co-operation among all these Christian groups which combine in supporting the Portuguese Evangelical Alliance. At the New Year there is an annual Week of Prayer, with a general exchange of pulpits, when the essential bond of the unity of the Holy Spirit is felt and emphasized. It is encouraging also that the Portuguese branch of the Scripture Union, under very able leadership, is growing steadily and membership is already more than three thousand. Such grounding in sound Bible teaching is the stoutest defence against the inroads of false doctrine which so far, fortunately, has failed to make headway.

Muhammad and St. Francis

GIULIO BASETTI-SANI

For a more Christian understanding of our brethren the Muslims

WHEN WE LOOK at the geographical map revealing the diffusion of Islam, we cannot remain indifferent to the disturbing problem raised by the mysterious presence of a phenomenon so important for the history of Christianity and of humanity. It is our most cherished longing to create in the Christian conscience an interest in these millions of people.

Too often one hears repeated by the very persons who live in the lands of Islam : " There is nothing that can be done ! " How many times, in the course of seventeen years spent in Muslim territory, have I heard my own confrères enunciate this sad conclusion as the final lesson of their practical experience. However, the more I meditate, the more the verdict strikes me as inacceptable. It appears to me that the contrary must be said : " There is everything that can be done with Muslims." Without contesting the merit and the honour due to those who in the past, at the price of their lives, have preached the Gospel to our Muslim brothers, we must realize that, from the failure of so many attempts, it is not to be concluded that grace has been denied to so many people who likewise are called to salvation.

We are, therefore, convinced that to arrive at a more Christian understanding of our brothers in Islam, it is important for us to adopt the attitude adopted by St. Francis of Assisi and meditate on a phase of his life which has perhaps escaped a number of biographers and admirers, namely the mysterious bonds which united the Poverello to the founder of Islam, the Arab prophet Muhammad.

The prophetic mission of St. Francis of Assisi

No one disputes that in the thirteenth century Divine Providence sent St. Francis to His Church to bring the world back to fidelity to the Gospel. The vision of Innocent III expressed that mission of the Poor Man, who, as a prophet, spoke to the people the language of God.

We shall especially discover that St. Francis approached Islam with an entirely new spirit, with spiritual attitudes completely unknown to medieval Christendom. In this we are once again led to think that St. Francis received the prophetic mission to bring the Christian conscience back to a more just and more evangelical understanding of its relations with Muslims.

For the medieval conscience, Muslims were the " unbelieving profaners of the Holy Places." The papal documents themselves designate them in terms which could not

fail to create a strong impression on the imagination of the faithful: "enemies of the Cross of Christ," "dogs," "the most wicked lot of warriors," "a wicked people," and so forth. Islam was presented not only as a politico-military power against which it was necessary to defend oneself, but above all as the most diabolically anti-Christian force. The Popes and Bishops many a time stirred the zeal of the faithful by the ideal of the Crusade.

It is in this environment of anti-Muslim reaction that St. Francis appeared, as the inspired prophet, sent by God to His Church in order that Christians might regard the followers of Islam with a more evangelical outlook. Continual meditation on the Passion of Christ made St. Francis understand that God brought about the salvation of man through annihilation and affliction, through the death of His Divine Son, and not through violence and the deployment of material power. The Christian attitude towards Islam ought to conform itself to that evangelical outlook.

Consequently Francis discovered in Muslims not the terrible enemies against whom it had to be a question of taking up swords, because they themselves took up the sword, but alienated brothers who had to be led to their Father's house through kindness and goodness. Jesus treated men with love and saved them by giving Himself on the Cross. The Church, which is His Mystical Body, cannot pursue another way; she must treat Muslims with charity and understanding and save them by prayer and suffering.

In the redaction of his first rule, St. Francis gave to his friars—"those who wish to go among the Saracens"—a programme so far removed from the mentality of that time, that it could not have been impressed upon his mind without an inspiration from above. It was impossible for him to look upon Muslims as "enemies of the Cross of Christ." profaners of the Holy Sepulchre. He sees in them only brothers of God; redeemed by the blood of Jesus; called to share in the Kingdom of God. . . .

But let us hear St. Francis as he proposed his programme of apostolic conquest. He divided it into two periods. The first period (which, we add, could eventually last for centuries, since in the eyes of God a thousand years are as yesterday already passed), is that in which the evangelical message is announced in the land of Islam by the practice of Christian virtues. The brothers (who go among the Saracens) must not take action against them, nor cause disputes, but must submit themselves to all (and therefore even to the Muslim authorities). It was considered to be humanly impossible to live in the Orient without taking such action: in the light of this the value of the attitude prescribed by the Franciscan precept is more clearly apparent. After an assiduous practice had shown that humility, poverty, and gentleness were the superior spiritual values, the ground would be well prepared. It would be easier for Islam to accept and understand the humiliation of the Son of God.

If the testimony which they tried for centuries to render to Christ in the lands of Islam has not produced the expected result, that derives precisely from being preoccupied in looking for immediate results.

The second period, that of external manifestation and preaching, is determined by the choice of God. In this respect we should heed the words of Jesus to His Apostles: "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father has fixed by his own authority." (Acts 1 : 7).

The hour for action is determined by Divine mercy. The Apostle must be ready to execute that second part of his mission. To announce the word of God pre-supposes, besides the spiritual preparation required for the first period, a serious intellectual preparation: the Lord is in no way bound to give to all messengers of His Word the gift of tongues. On the other hand, no one can pretend to announce the Gospel to a people, without first knowing the language and the mentality of that people in order to be able, according to the teaching of St. Paul, to become all things to all men—a Jew among Jews, a Greek among Greeks, and so an Arab among the Arabs, in order to draw all to Christ. No one before St. Francis understood the apostolate among Muslims in this way. He remained unique among his contemporaries, the rest of whom viewed the problem of Islam in a pessimistic light.

It is necessary here to underline an important eventual consequence of the attitude encouraged for the first period of the apostolic mission: the testimony of blood realized in union with the sacrifice of the Saviour for the redemption of our brothers the Muslims. That supreme expression of Charity taught by Christ will manifest to the world that we consider Muslims as true brothers. St. Francis affirmed in his rule that it is precisely because Muslims make us suffer and because they inflict suffering and death upon us that they must be considered as our dearest friends. In these words is embodied the answer to be given to all those who invoke the malice of the Saracens and their obstinacy in refusing the teachings of the Gospel. Nothing can belittle for St. Francis the value of the words of Christ which He repeated to His sons: "Behold I send you as sheep among wolves."

It was in that spirit that he was able to see in Muslims his own brothers. He would not have dared to consider himself a friend of Christ if he had not felt himself animated with zeal for the salvation of all those whose brother Christ had become before the Father. For St. Francis and for whoever wishes to remain faithful to the Seraphic spirit, Muslims must be the object of a constant love, even if in return they hate us. Did not Christ go even further, He who loved Judas?

St. Francis, by a special illumination which conferred upon him a prophetic mission, understood that Islam could not be won over by contempt, still less by threats and violence. One of his most ardent preoccupations had been to make the Gospel known to Muslims. He devoted his life to that ideal; he offered it to God as a living sacrifice for His Muslim brethren in union with the dying Christ, in order to redeem humanity. To this end, he set out three times to seek martyrdom among them.

The prophetic character of the mission of St. Francis for Islam was confirmed by the connection—evident to us—between certain events in the history of Muhammad and two events in the life of the Seraphic

Father. By relating them we are able to acquire a full understanding of them. In so doing, we discover the particular vocation of the Franciscan apostolate in Islam. It is only with the heart and spirit of a Francis of Assisi or of a Charles de Foucauld that one can understand the mind of Muslims and draw near to them.

Muhammad and the Christians of Najran

It is impossible to understand the profound and supernatural meaning of the apostolate of St. Francis at Damietta, the reaction of the Sultan Malik-al-Kamil and the Muslim doctors to the proposition of the saint, if one does not compare the happening at Damietta with that which occurred at Medina, in the tenth year of Hijrah.

At that time Muhammad had practically extended his authority over all of Arabia : numbers of tribes had spontaneously submitted. Although he was still far from knowing the true Christianity, Muhammad manifested more sympathy for the Christians than for the Jews. The official meeting with a delegation of the Christians of Najran and their conduct strongly modified his personal judgment on Christianity, and afterwards the personal judgment of all Muslims who saw in the conduct of Muhammad the rule to be observed before every Christian desirous of engaging in a religious discussion.

The Christian delegation was led by the Bishop Abu-l-Harith ibn Aqamah. Muhammad summoned the delegation to the burial-ground at Medina ; and there, in the presence of the dead, after a discussion on the Passion of Jesus, asked the Christians to prove the truth of the Incarnation, inviting them to invoke together with him and his five companions the malediction of God on those who would be wrong, by means of the *mubahalah* or ordeal, consisting of passing through fire.

These Christians did not accept the challenge and did not wish to recognize the prophetic mission. However, they declared themselves ready to negotiate a compromise with Muhammad who then conceded the first "capitulation of Islam." The faithful of the two Abrahamic monotheisms, Jews and Christians, because of their holy books (the Bible), should have the right to refuse to embrace Islam by paying a tribute (the *jizyah*), by which means their life, property and entire communal autonomy would be guaranteed them.

This event is very important for many reasons. In the first place it is a manifestation of the complete faith of Muhammad in his mission ; it likewise shows that the prophet did not admit the manifestation of God in His creation except by the thunder which strikes the guilty, as previously on Mt. Carmel in the presence of Elijah (II Kings 1 : 10-12, St. Luke 9 : 54).

In addition, this event truly reveals a particular attitude of Muhammad and of Islam toward the mystery of the Incarnation. Perhaps the refusal of the Christians to give him that which he demanded in all sincerity of faith, namely, the proof of the Divinity of Jesus Christ, barred the prophet's way to the Christian faith.

In this first and solemn meeting of Islam and the Christians, the latter incurred a heavy responsibility in lacking courage to bear witness to the truth and to the sincerity of their faith, in failing in charity, by their contempt of that non-baptized per-

son who pretended "foolishly" to make himself recognized as the messenger of Allah, while they themselves judged him excluded from that privileged participation: the adoration of the Son of God. That pusillanimity and, at the same time, that pride of believing themselves the only privileged ones, scandalized Muhammad who, having retired to pray, should have been strengthened by the word of God: the desired answer was remitted to the day of last judgment. And Islam still waits!

The ordeal asked for in vain by Muhammad was proposed by St. Francis at Damietta, since he had wished to repair and to make up for the unfortunate behaviour of the Christians of Najran.

The action of St. Francis, brought closer and placed in direct relation with the happening at Medina, takes on a profound meaning which biographers have habitually failed to perceive. While it gives an estimation of the greatness of the soul of St. Francis, it announces at the same time the new attitude which the Lord demands of Christians toward Islam: reparation in a suffering which, in life and death, bears witness to the faith; Christian charity which condemns no one, leaves the judgment of intention to God, knows how to discover and recognize in all, even in the greatest sinners, the gifts of God and incites the apostle to love the brother in whom he sees the image and likeness of Christ, even as far as immolating himself for his salvation and substituting himself for him before the Saviour.

Muhammad, animated with a deep and sincere faith in the living God of Abraham, believed in the original equality of the three Abrahamic religions: Israel, Christianity and Islam, and knew that, referring all to the same God the Creator, God-Truth, the pure souls (*tahirat*) of the Jews or of the Christians could also be for him the instrument through which God communicated truth to him.

The refusal of the Christians of Najran to bear witness to Christ, while scandalizing Muhammad, demanded for many centuries a reparation on the part of the Christians: St. Francis of Assisi gave it, providentially, in the name of true Christianity.

The *Mubahalah* of St. Francis at Damietta

In July of 1219, St. Francis landed in Egypt, It was the third time that he had resolved to go among the Saracens, driven by the ardent desire of sacrificing his life for them.

The sincerity with which St. Francis presented himself to the Sultan Malik-al-Kamil to announce to him his mission as the envoy of God, could not but elicit and win sympathy and respect. The religious conscience of Malik-al-Kamil, a just and pious man, did not refuse *a priori* the testimony of any member of the "people of the Book," bringing to him the words of God. A frank, humble and courageous affirmation of the Christian faith, without any offence to the Muslim conscience, is respectfully heard in the Muslim circle. According to the biographers of the saint, it seems that the Sultan was personally aware of the fervour of spirit and of the sanctity of Francis, who had no word of contempt for Muhammad, nor for the Islamic faith, but only professed himself ready to remain

among Muslims for the love of Christ, prepared to preclude their every hesitation by means of the ordeal of fire.

The ordeal—like the *Mubahalah* which Muhammad had asked of the Christians of Najran—would have to show the intervention of God Who would declare which is the truest and holiest faith.

In conformity with the rule of action prescribed by the Qur'an, the Muslims refused the challenge. St. Francis then declared himself ready to enter the fire alone. Humbly he forewarned them that if the Lord did not assist him, those present should attribute that to his sins, and not to consider it as a Divine condemnation of Christianity. If, on the contrary, the power of God should be miraculously manifested, by leaving him unharmed in the midst of the flames, he asked the Sultan and his people to hear the message of God.

The conduct of the Sultan and the attitude of the doctors of the Qur'an who, upon declining the first proposition, had backed out, must be interpreted in the light of psychology and the Muslim law. After the incident which occurred between Muhammad and the Christians of Najran, especially after the answer which the prophet received from the Lord (Surah iii, 48/55), the Muslim was not able to accept anticipating the judgment which God had reserved to Himself to give to the angels and to men in the presence of Jesus Christ, when, on the last day, He will judge both angels and men.

Taking into account these characteristics of the Muslim conscience, we must, of necessity, evaluate both the response of the Sultan as well as the conduct of the doctors differently. The refusal did not signify contempt, neither of St. Francis nor of the Christian religion. On the contrary, the Sultan, in conformity with his faith, professed publicly the Divine origin of Christianity: "I believe that your Faith is good and true."

Islam at Damietta did not accept the proof that St. Francis, in order to make reparation for the refusal of the Christians of Najran, desired to give of the belief in the Divinity of Christ and in the Trinity. It would appear that at Damietta, Islam refused the absolute gift of love which St. Francis was ready to make, in exposing his life in the hope of martyrdom. But this interior disposition of sublime charity toward his Muslim brothers did not diminish in the heart of the Seraphic Father; on the contrary, the attitude of the Sultan, one that was most generous and courteous, incited in his soul the great suffering of the Apostolate; it verified the difficulties which men oppose to the triumph of grace. Then St. Francis returned to Italy.

The hour of God had not yet arrived. A long maturing of suffering and of immolation impelled by the love of Christ was necessary, the presence of which he recognized even in his distant brothers.

We do not believe that St. Francis, after that experience, was convinced that there was nothing that could be done with Muslims. On the contrary, that direct and personal experience made him understand more clearly with the aid of grace, that Islam is a mystery. Even more than before, that thought became one of the profoundest themes of his interior life. Henceforth, those distant brothers

could no longer be excluded from his prayers: they, who continued to be looked upon as enemies, remained for him true friends. . . .

The "Nocturnal Ascension" of Muhammad

Prompted and guided by a deep sense of the Divine transcendance, Muhammad gathered in his "conversion" the spiritual and personal character of his relation with the living God of Abraham, understood as the sovereign freedom and absolute will, to Whom we must respond by the total abandonment of self. (*Islam.* Surah iii, 77.)

The fact of the nocturnal ascension of Muhammad or ecstasy to which the Qur'an alludes twice, was in his calling a central event which ruled the entire legislative activity of Medina. It was to this that for centuries fervent Muslims, preoccupied in finding once again, for the purpose of reviving them, the dispositions of the heart of Muhammad in his search for God, gave their concentrated thought.

When the angel to whom the prophet was entrusted had transported him from Mecca first on to the esplanade of the Temple of the destroyed Jerusalem, then from there to the inaccessible Holy City, the heavenly Jerusalem, where the glory of God resides, Muhammad reached beyond the "supreme horizon" up to the "lotus of delay" close to where was found the garden of eternal sojourn, while a host of angels covered the tree. (Surah iii, 14-16.) Behind that mystical tree at an interval of two bowshots God was hidden, Muhammad desired and attempted to reach God through the mystery, but his angelic guide was unable to introduce him into the embracing union, for the completely naked angelic nature, which his guide had assumed, did not normally represent the type of intimate union with God which is only possible through the crucified humanity of Christ.

Ignorant of the true meaning and purpose of the mystery of the Incarnation, Muhammad remained excluded from the Divine union reserved to the adoration of sons. In all sincerity he asked the Divinity to manifest Himself to him, at least under the appearance of an angel: but under the features of the angel who guided him, he could only discover and proclaim the inaccessibility of the Divine essence. Thus he remained on the threshold, and did not try to advance into the eternity of Divine fire, thus renouncing the knowledge *ab intra* of the personal life of God through the only Mediator, Christ, Who would have sanctified him.

There was in that outpouring of the faith of Muhammad the expression of a desperate desire which he kept during his whole life: "to contemplate God, at least under the form of an angel." . . .

The Miracle of Alverna and Muhammad

The unfolding event which took place on Alverna towards the middle of September 1224 is well known. Franciscan tradition, from the very beginning, had meditated on the mystery of the stigmata of St. Francis, confining itself to the consideration of what it signified for the person of the saint, but it seems to us that it has neglected the problem raised by the mysterious significance of the apparition of the Crucified under the features of a seraph.

St. Francis himself had been left confused. All the biographers of St. Francis see in the stigmata the answer to that desire of martyrdom which had driven St. Francis on to offer himself in the land of Islam. St. Bonaventura, in particular, established the relation between the two events: the preaching before the Sultan from whom he awaited martyrdom and the stigmatization.

The offering of self, made by the saint at Damietta, for the salvation of the Muslims, had been accepted by the Lord, but the martyrdom which he desired to undergo in the land of Islam had to receive a new and deeper meaning. While it was St. Francis' desire to make reparation by his courage and charity for the refusal on the part of the Christians of Najran to Muhammad, the Lord reserved for him a more extraordinary martydom on Mt. Alverna.

That generous offer of intercession and of substitution for the Muslims echoed in the heart of God, St. Francis, therefore, was recognized by God as the greatest aspirant for the salvation of Islam. Thanks to him, the expression "brothers and friends" is found in the Church, an expression to which Muslims have a right. . . .

The Arab race, excluded in Ishmael its father from the offering of Abraham, remains to this day in an almost invincible ignorance of the crucifixion and its sad reality. For Muhammad and Islam, Jesus Christ the Holy One of God, could not suffer in such an ignominious manner; the "Judge" could not submit to a condemnation inflicted by men, because all that appeared as a defeat inflicted upon God. . . .

While all Christianity was wont to see in Muslims the worst enemies of the Cross of Christ, St. Francis, through his love for them, was permitted by the Lord to be the first to suffer visibly with the Crucified. Thus was the prophetic mission accomplished by him in some way authenticated and consecrated when he showed what the evangelical attitude should be toward Islam and condemned by his own action the bellicose violence of the crusades. Through the five wounds imprinted on the body of Francis in fulfilment of his desire for the offering of his life for Islam, Islam will be able one day to recognize the value of the five wounds of Christ, the only source of Redemption.

For a more Christian understanding of our Muslim brothers—more imperative and more urgent than ever—it remains for us to meditate upon the example left by St. Francis and to enter into his spirit.

When Christians, especially those who live in direct contact with Muslims, nurture on their part such a love that they can even desire to immolate themselves for them in a spirit of substitution, then will Islam perceive the call to grace.

(With acknowledgements to the *Muslim World*. Ed.)

Hassan—son of a Dervish

JOYCE REES-MOGG

HASSAN was five years old when we first knew him, the liveliest of a family of several small boys. His parents were members of a nomad tribe from Upper Egypt, and proud to claim Arab descent. Their hut was one of a number on waste ground near Old Cairo Hospital, and the men of the tribe belonged to an order of Sufi dervishes.

On Thursday evenings they would form a circle and repeat together the sacred Name of Allah. The Name was breathed at first in slow solemnity, but soon the repetition quickened and seemed to become hypnotic, till the worshippers reached a state of ecstasy and exhaustion or even fell unconscious on the ground. On other evenings they practised fencing, stepping a graceful measure to the rhythmic clack of heavy stave on stave, or sat chanting and clapping round their open fires.

Hassan's elderly father was of dignified bearing, and given to meditation when there was work to be done. His chief interest was the care of a truculent gamecock, whose victories added a trifle to the money earned by selling cucumbers or fruit from a roadside barrow, or working in southern fields when the cotton was ripe for picking.

Hassan's mother, Fatima, had much in common with the virtuous woman described in the last chapter of the Book of Proverbs. It was she who built the square mud hut with its ceiling of wicker crates, and the inside of it was scrupulously tidy and clean. She made the clay oven with a mannikin on top to scare evil spirits away, and there she baked little hard brown loaves. The family could seldom afford wheat flour and meat was only for feast days. Fatima filled her heavy water-pot at the canal, and washed the clothes and the cucumbers there, and rose before dawn to walk many miles to the market that she might choose the best dates or oranges for her husband's barrow. The boys adored and feared her, but even she found Hassan a handful.

Hassan ran about barefoot and in rags, and bathed in the Nile regardless of the horrific River Spirit who swallowed up children at the time of the annual flood. He raced after *gharries* and wheedled *baksheesh* from the tourists, and even penetrated the foreign doctor's garden at the mission hospital and coaxed the gift of a ball from the doctor's children. He sat on the steps of the doctor's house with an Englishwoman who showed him pictures and told him stories in the most peculiar Arabic and was pleased and surprised if he under-

stood them. He hoped she would be pleased enough to give him *baksheesh* and as she didn't he concluded that she must be very poor and offered to pay her tram-fare to town after an extra good haul from the tourists. It was a pity she refused this good fortune, but he bought a sweet cake instead and they ate it together.

Hassan's mother disapproved of these goings-on, and made it clear that they must stop. Everyone knew that those missionaries gave their religion to patients by injections, and their medicines were made from dead men's bones. Hassan took heed of these warnings, but when searching for treasure in a dust-bin he found a little bottle full of sugar-coated pills and swallowed the lot. Alarming symptoms resulted from this experiment but he was brought to the hospital in time to avert a tragedy, and, with his recovery, Fatima's confidence was won.

Hassan was allowed to join a boys' club at the hospital, and even to play basket-ball and go to picnics with his new friends. There was one outing at the Zoo where he found himself cornered by some young students with strong political views. They wished to know what he was doing with these Christians and foreigners, whether he went to some school of theirs, and what he was being taught. Hassan was not at all disconcerted. "We go to the school of Jesus Christ," he said, "and we learn good manners. Perhaps they don't teach those at the school you go to?" His critics departed and said no more.

We saw less of Hassan as he and his brothers grew older, but his mother remained a loyal friend of the hospital and almost regarded herself as a member of the staff. Fears and prejudices were all forgotten, and shortly before she died she whispered to one of her friends there: "I want to tell you, I believe Christ died for me."

Hassan married and is now about thirty-five years old, with seven children of his own. It is his turn now to sell fruit and cucumbers by the roadside, and the mud house he and his family live in is only a little larger than the hut his mother built. A great sorrow came to him and his wife through the death of their eldest child, a girl of fourteen who had the same gay and courageous spirit as her grandmother. She was preparing a bath for the baby brother who was her special care when the stove flared and she was fatally burned. She bore the pain with great fortitude and murmured: "I am in God's wise hands." As we tried to comfort Hassan he said: "The teaching of long ago is not forgotten."

A year later came the Suez crisis and Hassan heard that his friends must leave the country because they had officially become enemy aliens. He brought £5 from his scanty savings in case they were short of money for their journey. They were thankful to tell him they did not need it, but the memory of that offer is a treasure that will be theirs for ever.

The place of missionaries in the new India

ALEXANDER McLEISH

IN WRITING about the relation of Church and Mission and the future of missionary service in India it is difficult to avoid generalizations which may seem to overlook the particular relationship best known to the reader.

So also when we speak of Mission, Board or Society we may fail to recognize the one we know among the great number in India. The same observation applies also to the use of the term "Indian Church" in view of the fact that there are now sixty-seven "national" churches. Between the "Mission" and the "Church" also there exists every degree of devolution and integration. Hence, personal experience differs from observer to observer and we may easily find ourselves talking a different language from area to area in India and from that of "missions" in the U.K., U.S.A. and other countries.

In spite of this formidable difficulty the discussion of the problem of the character of missionary service in the new and rapidly changing conditions in India must go on.

It must be clearly recognized that a revolutionary situation has arisen between Mission and Church during the last few years, and this has become increasingly articulate since Independence.

Everywhere discussion is going on as to the various problems involved. In a recent number of *World Dominion*[1] we discussed the question of the possibility of a true partnership as seen by the Rev. G. Schultz. He was doubtful whether the conditions existed to make possible such a partnership. He gave us a very good diagnosis of the Indian point of view, but rather overlooked this in the suggestions he made as to improvement of the "mission-church" relationship. He stated that the end of the era of organized denominational missions had come, and went so far as to say that it might be best now for all missions to cease to exist. His other proposals were referred to and commented on. It was felt that he had not answered his own question as to how a true partnership was to be attained, and that he had left the crucial question as to what to do with the missionaries still undetermined.

In an attempt to answer this latter question the Rev. H. G. Schaefer wrote an article in the

(1) *World Dominion*, January, 1957, referring to an article in the *National Christian Council Review* of India, May, 1956.

February 1957 number of the *National Christian Council Review.*

There is agreement between these two writers that "the end of an era of denominational organizations has come," and that the problem of missionary service is the burning question of the moment. If this present article does nothing more than create the consciousness that a major crisis exists in India it will have served its purpose. This "revolutionary" situation is only recognized in certain quarters in India and still less abroad. Yet it profoundly affects the sending of personnel and money by missions.

The collection of opinions and proposals in the book *Revolution in Missions*[2] gives a picture of the present situation in many of its aspects more radical than anything I have yet ventured to say.

Mr. Schaefer in describing the new relationship of Church and Mission, points out that the "pioneer" type of missionary must now give place to a new type "willing to work within a church." Such personnel must be called to take up "a limited task, in a limited area of the Younger Church's life for a specified time." They will come not as partners in the old sense, but as volunteers, fraternal workers, "advisers and servants of the church, co-workers for Christ with their fellow Indian Christians." He emphasizes strongly that the new-type missionary should be "called" by the Indian Church, not sent by the mission, and should come as a "servant" conscious of the limitations of his task. A comment might be made here that the money cost of this type of worker would be no less than that of the old type and would be still too great for the Indian Church—even if it did not itself actually have to meet the cost.

Some missions have accepted this principle and claim to be acting on the basis of sending only missionaries who are asked for. But it should be remembered that an invitation from a Diocesan or Church Council is not consciously or necessarily that of the local Church.

Racial, cultural and national tensions now on the increase still have to be reckoned with. Mr. Schaefer admits that it will not be easy to overcome these difficulties. His proposed solution "of what to do with the missionary" does not yet answer his own question. He sums up by asking "the Home Church" to stop drifting and definitely and fully to recognize the Indian Church as responsible for its own growth and development, to put its financial relations with the Indian Church on a new basis, and to be prepared to send a "new type" of missionary to be *asked* for specific tasks and for limited periods of service. Objections may be raised to this on spiritual, psychological and economic grounds. It is not easy to see how this would end the present sense of frustration, for few can work happily in a church where they are denied responsibility for its financial, administrative and even evangelistic work (*passim "Revolution in Missions"*).

There are other questions of relationship also to be solved. One

(2) This book has just been published in India, edited by Dr. B. Levai of Vellore, giving the views of more than thirty leaders, mostly nationals of the Church of South India and some missionaries. *Revolution in Missions* obtainable from C.L.S. Box No. 501 Madras (U.K. 7s. 6d. India Rs. 5).

is that in certain spheres of work there is great disparity in remuneration between many missionaries and the average Indian worker. A basic salary for single and married workers, Indian and foreigner, with suitable allowances, has been tried and might be extended. The present tension is bound to get worse when, for example, a missionary can receive Rs. 1,600 per month (with allowances) while many pastors still get only about Rs. 100. There is no need here to enlarge on this burning question. It affects also the payment of Indian teachers, doctors and nurses. The missionary must cease to remind people of the white man's former régime. He must in spirit and conduct in no way appear as a "relic" of that old order, and, above all, must not be open to the charge of exploiting the trained Indian staffs.

I have heard an otherwise quite mild South Indian pastor, acting as a missionary in North India, tell a group of missionaries at Nagpur that the only real solution of the difficulties besetting Indian missionaries was for the "foreign missionary" to quit India. There cannot, he said, be two leaders in the same area. Any kind of missionary is bound, humanly speaking, to become a rival to the local pastor, at least, it is always feared that he may become so. Dividing the area of responsibility offers no solution, but only invites comparison. Less than ten years ago a deputation of Christian young men came to me at my last "station" in India, and asked me why the Mission was still sending a missionary there. Nobody had asked for him. He was no longer needed, and in any case an Indian worker would be cheaper, more efficient and more acceptable.

A few new missionaries and some older ones work along such specialized lines that there is no sense of rivalry: they specialize in youth work, education, audio-visual work, rural engineering and trade schools. These are more or less contented, as Mr. Schaefer points out. But though they have no competitors now, how long will this remain so? The difficulty of mixing foreign personnel with Indian leadership is far greater than is generally realized. A wise old pastor once remarked to me "It is no use diluting the number of missionaries on our Church Committees for the voice of one missionary is still equal to ten of us."

Mr. Schaefer in conclusion urges the Indian Church to assume complete responsibility and to tell the home churches that it is, as a Church, now master in its own house and that with regard to foreign helpers—men and women—and financial help, it must be allowed complete control of the whole situation.

The editors of the *National Christian Council Review* in a recent editorial agreed that the "end of the era of denominational organizations had come." The old policy of "manning the stations" was, however, still too prevalent. Many missions are still pleading for missionaries to "keep up their staffs."

There certainly is a real difficulty here, as the Government seems to be admitting only those who go to fill vacancies and to carry on old work from old centres. From 1951 to 1956 there was a net increase of 496 missionaries. A careful examination of the returns showed

that this increase had been absorbed in present stations and in institutions, mainly in the larger centres.

Since we know that during these years there was a decrease in missionaries from the United Kingdom, it follows that there was an increase well in excess of 500 from the U.S.A. and other countries. There are, under present conditions, more missionaries than either the Missions or the Church know what to do with. This is also the impression one gets in moving about the country. Missionaries are still going to fill "empty bungalows" in stations where the Church is strongest and normally does not need them. Dr. D. McGavran in *Bridges of God* shows that these are the centres where fewer missionaries are now needed. They are now, he says, an obstacle to church growth. The last place a new missionary should be sent to is an old bungalow which for one hundred years has been closely associated with the "building up" of the present church.

Of course, the problem of where any missionary should live is a very real one. The Indian climate is not an easy one and in many ways the old bungalow was *not* a luxury. Life in a guest house or in a hostel is not ideal, nor is it cheap. In the last fifty years the cost of living has increased four to six times. The problem, therefore, of residence is not easily solved so far as any new type of missionary is concerned. Ideally his field of service should have no special reference to the old field of his own Church's mission work, especially now that we are dealing largely with Union churches, the product of a number of co-operating missions which now have no Indian field committees.

There are sixty-five of these national and union churches which have "taken over" from their parent missions. These account for 6,200,000 of the Protestant Christian Community. Although divided into these sixty-five separate units, these churches comprehend nearly all the Christians in India. The fifty-eight missions not incorporated in any church account for only a quarter of a million. It is easy, therefore, to see how difficult the situation has become for a new missionary if allocated to an old mission station. Even if the Church Council has asked for him, he appears from the blue. The local Church is scarcely aware of his coming. It does not give him any real welcome. He may be conscious of not being wanted and may be told so. The Church Council may not meet for many months. The Mission is no longer in a position to give him an appointment. The pastor may even look on him as a possible rival. After one or two missionaries have tried to work in such a situation, if the mission authorities are wise, the station is given up. Of the bungalows I have been associated with, one is closed, one is occupied by an Indian worker, one is let, two are sold, and the other now houses the higher classes of a girls' school. So, whether the mission acts or not, the situation continues to change. It is a time of transition between the old and the new and these difficulties must be expected.

To talk of partnership between the older and younger churches is not realistic—only the younger Church is on the spot. The younger

Church also probably finds itself part of a united Church. The eight or nine missions which have contributed to this union are not united as churches in the West. There is, therefore, no natural method of acting together as churches. The missionary groups belong to different organizations, and, with the best intentions, cannot represent the older churches *as churches*. In fact there is no "older Church" so far as the younger Church is concerned. Therefore, partnership as churches was never a possibility. A more realistic view is now possible. Devolution and integration have been going on apace, and the Church has come to realize its identity. It had not been trained, however, to assume responsibility, and even did not much want it, and this has hindered progress. The still large group of missionaries at the back of the life and activity of the new Church further complicated matters. The complaint began to be heard from new missionaries that they had "no job." A growing number of older missionaries did not return from furlough. It became scarcely realistic for the Church to say that it still wanted more missionaries when it obviously did not know what to do with the missionaries it already had. Nor does it yet know, in spite of what some groups may say.

Does the plea that new missionaries must come as "servants" or "fraternal workers" to the younger churches answer the question? Here the difficulty is that the training and efficiency of the foreign missionary is generally far ahead of his Indian brother. To serve under one who does not know the work as well is very difficult. Human nature, even under grace, cannot be ignored. Yet certain individuals, given time to adjust themselves to the new relationships, might succeed. As far as one's observation goes, not many such are likely to be forthcoming. Yet a new policy of mutual helpfulness is overdue and some way of effective co-operation must be found. Certain suggestions being made are rather policies of despair and are scarcely worthy of consideration. Some say "end the present régime and begin again on a fresh basis, so giving the older and younger churches time to find out what is needed." Others say "let the older Church be represented on the field of its old mission work by one representative only with powers to act for his *Church* (not Mission) in all relationships with the younger Church" or "representatives could remain in different departments of the old work (medical, educational and so on) until things are more stabilized."

What we are seeing might be described as "evolution in missions" rather than "revolution in missions," and that might be the best way to look at the present widespread demand for change, change that is going on whether we plan it or not. This was recognized by a group of Indian leaders who met some months ago at the Rajpur study centre. They issued a paper entitled "Foreign Missionaries and the Church in India." They state that they do not wish to fix the new pattern, and do not want any hasty action. They point out that missionaries can still assist the Indian Church in many ways, *provided* they fit into the national situation and agree with the determination of the Indian

Church completely to control its own affairs. Financial assistance will only be accepted if there are no strings attached. Specialist help will be needed for a time until it also can be dispensed with. They state that this policy has been accepted by some societies. Under such conditions it is realized that fewer and fewer missionaries are likely to come, and they express anxiety as to how long such a "policy" of "wait and see" can continue. One difficulty mentioned is whom to invite and under what conditions. Who is to ask and who is to answer?

The idea of a life service for missionaries disappears if they are to be invited as "fraternal workers" for short periods. The whole concept of "missionary" as previously understood is changed. It is assumed that the "mission" and its candidates have unlimited money to justify sending young missionaries, with their careers still to make under increasingly difficult conditions in the West, to be for a time at the service of the Indian Church. From the economic point of view, as well as from the psychological, this seems a difficult matter. A certain number of favourably placed men (not many) might be induced to undertake a few years' service as short term workers. These workers would not long be satisfied with their position, as experience shows. Some scheme of church-aid might also be developed. Apart from expressions of good-will there is little of practical help, in the paper referred to, to guide the intending candidate or his mission how to take action, save on the policy of "wait and see."

The most serious consideration is that, if all the essential work of the Indian Church, *including the proclaiming of the Gospel*, is to be reserved for Indian workers only, the question will inevitably be asked: why send missionaries—fraternal or otherwise—at all? Yet to "wait and see" may be the only possible policy, although it does not sound very satisfactory when asking for candidates for missionary service.

The truth of the Mission-Church situation in India must, however, be fully explained to candidates to avoid disillusionment and a sense of frustration, which have already been allowed to grow to alarming proportions. It is not that the problem is insoluble, but it is undoubtedly difficult. There exists to-day a great field for Christian witness and service in India to be entered by those able effectively and sympathetically to adjust themselves to the new conditions now developing in the new India.

It is difficult to present the call of missionary service as candidates now go to serve the younger churches, and not the Mission as hitherto[3]. It is the call of the younger Church that has to be heard and answered. A new kind of appeal must be made. The intending missionary candidate must be made fully to realize that he is answering a definite call of the younger Church and goes out to serve it and not any Mission. He must make quite sure of that. This becomes now the supreme question confronting both the Mission and the candidate.

(3) This does not yet apply to those Missions still involved in the evangelistic stage before the formation of the organized Church.

The world to-day

Encounter between religions

(1) *Development of Communications*

SINCE THE WAR, there has been a growing interest in the West in the ancient religions of Asia. This has been brought about by a number of causes, of which the first is the rapid development of communications in the modern world. People can move about the world very quickly in modern aeroplanes; there has been a vast increase in daily newspapers; and in all countries radio ensures that news of what happens in one part of the world is flashed to every other part in a matter of seconds.

Television will add a still further means of communication, by which people may view scenes from other parts of the world by their own firesides, and see speakers of whom they have previously only read, or perhaps on occasion listened to on the radio. Two years ago the B.B.C. televised a series about the different religions of man, entitled *Men seeking God,* in which Christopher Mayhew described religious centres that he had visited, and recorded interviews with adherents of the religions concerned. It was said that several million people in Britain alone saw this programme.

(2) *Revival in the ancient religions*

A second reason for the increased interest in other religions is the revival that has been taking place among them in recent years. This has largely been stimulated by nationalism, under the influence of which attention in newly independent countries and those which are striving for their complete political freedom, is concentrated on their own country, its history, culture, language, literature, and its own traditional religion. Statesmen in these countries are looking to their own religion not only to provide a unifying force, but also to give inspiration to the nation in this new period of national history.

Yet nationalism is not the only force at work in the revived attention to the ancient religions; there is also the desire to catch up with the world, and to show that the religion in question offers the best hope of getting the world out of the mess into which it has fallen. Confused by two world wars in which the main participants have been the so-called Christian nations of the West, many people in Asia, particularly in the Buddhist countries, are saying that Christianity has failed because it did not prevent these two disastrous wars. Buddhists, with their belief in the sacredness of all life, are calling to their own people to support a world mission to save the world from Christianity.

Last year Buddhists throughout the world celebrated the 2500th anniversary of the death of the Buddha, which they think of as his entry into Nirvana. The anniversary coincided with the ending of the sixth Buddhist Council which

had met in Rangoon to verify the text of the Buddhist Scriptures and to plan for the extension of the Buddhist faith. One result of this great Council has been the founding of a missionary college in Rangoon to train Buddhist missionaries to go out to the Western world; another is the acceptance of a five year plan to train 2,000 such missionaries.

Similar missionary activity can be seen in Buddhist Ceylon, where a year ago the Prime Minister appealed for a million rupees for the founding of a Buddhist missionary college in Colombo. The Rev. Basil Jackson, a Methodist missionary working as Study Secretary of the N.C.C. of Ceylon, told at a recent meeting how just before he left Ceylon a Buddhist monk came to visit him to ask for books about Christianity. The monk had already studied the Christian Bible, and, when questioned by Mr. Jackson as to why he wanted additional books, said that as he was training missionaries to go to darkest Europe, he thought it was only right that they should learn something about the religion of the natives!

Two years ago a group of six young British men went out to Siam to become Buddhist monks; five of them are now back in this country, keener Buddhists than ever, working to propagate their new faith. There is considerable interest in universities and in sixth forms of public and grammar schools in Buddhism, not just as an academic study in comparative religion, but as a possible alternative to Christianity. The Buddhism of Burma and Ceylon has no belief in a Supreme Being nor in any eternal personal entity or soul in man; it teaches a high standard of moral thinking and conduct, and emphasizes that men can only live the good life and reach the goal of Nirvana through their own efforts. Buddhism thus appeals to the modern sceptical spirit so prevalent in the West. Of course, it has a deeper appeal than that, for the Buddha is a great religious teacher who had a deep compassion for the sufferings of man and a real insight into the troubles which lust, desire, greed and attachment cause not only in individual life, but in social and corporate life as well.

Islam has from the beginning been a militantly missionary religion, and is attracting considerable attention in Europe as well as in Africa. It may be news to many people that there has been a mosque at Woking since 1889, around which in recent years there has grown up a publishing and missionary centre, from which some British Muslims have gone out as educationists in Muslim schools in West Africa. At a recent Muslim festival, no less than 3,000 Muslims and interested friends gathered at Woking, quite a proportion of whom came from the Embassies of Muslim countries. Islam is also attracting attention and support on the Continent, and mosques are being built in Germany and Norway.

On many Underground stations in London posters may be seen advertising courses of lectures in Yoga, the discipline of Eastern meditation, given by religious teachers from Asia. Considerable attention is paid in these training courses to breathing and posture, but there is a real emphasis on the opportunity and necessity for communion with the Divine. Similar

courses of training are also given by Buddhist teachers, but here the emphasis is of course on the withdrawal into oneself rather than on the possibility of communion with a Supreme Being.

This missionary effort on the part of the other religions makes it clear that the countries of the West are becoming mission fields for other religions, and that encounter of some sort is being forced upon us.

(3) *Missionary responsibility of the younger Churches*

The third cause of religious encounter is the growth in spiritual maturity and in missionary responsibility of the younger Churches, which have now been planted in almost every country of the world as a result of the Christian missionary movement. The Christians of these younger Churches live in immediate contact with their countrymen of the other religions; they are involved in a social network bound up very closely with these religions. Small though they may be in actual numbers, they are accepting their responsibility to interpret the Christian faith to their countrymen in relevance to their own religious tradition. Up to recent years this missionary responsibility has largely been in the hands of missionaries from abroad, who have not been free from suspicion because of their connection with Western powers and Western culture. Now that there are Christian nationals of real leadership, courage and power, they will be able to interpret the Gospel to their own people from within their own national situations, without the accusation of being politically connected with the West.

The three factors already mentioned make clear both the inevitability of new religious encounter, and also the opportunity. It is therefore a matter of great satisfaction that the younger Churches, in co-operation with the International Missionary Council, are setting up a number of centres for the study of the Christian approach to other religions. At Bangalore, in South India, a centre for the approach to Hindus has recently been started, under the leadership of Dr. Paul Devanandan. In the Middle East, Dr. Kenneth Cragg has now been at work for nearly a year leading the approach to Muslims, and travelling as far afield as Abyssinia and Pakistan. It is hoped in the near future that some kind of a centre may be set up in Israel for contact between Christians and Jews, in which, as in the other centres, the primary aim is for adherents of the two religions concerned to talk together with one another about the deep spiritual issues of life, and to understand what each is trying to say to the world. In Hong Kong, the Rev. G. M. Reichelt, son of the famous Dr. Reichelt who made such a sympathetic approach to Northern Buddhism in China, is the leader of a centre which is to study the religious consciousness of the Chinese people, in which Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism seem so inextricably mingled. In Rangoon and Colombo the National Christian Councils of Burma and Ceylon are making their own centres, in which they hope to make a more effective approach to their Buddhist countrymen. The Henry Martyn School of Islamic Studies in Aligarh, North India, has been in

existence for over thirty years, and has perhaps been the pioneer in a new approach; British missionary scholars like Bevan Jones, L. E. Browne, J. W. Sweetman and Harold Spencer have written books from this centre which show a new understanding of Islam and a truly sympathetic approach. These centres can become valuable meeting-places between the religion of Jesus Christ and the other religions of Asia. The prayers of Christian people throughout the Church will be with the leaders working in these centres, that through them the real meaning of the Christian Gospel may be made known to men in religious terms akin to their own, and so provide a sound basis for personal decision.

GEORGE APPLETON.

The International Missionary Council Caribbean Consultation—Puerto Rico, May 17–24, 1957

IN MAY OF THIS YEAR, for the first time in the history of the Protestant Church in the Caribbean, representatives of the English, French, Dutch and Spanish churches came together for a three-fold purpose—to review the Church's commitment in that area, to look for ways of co-operation, and to test the possibility of their becoming a unit region in ecumenical assemblies. At the invitation of the Council of Evangelical Churches of Puerto Rico, the Consultation met in the halls of the Presbyterian Inter-American University, San German. The gathering numbered some fifty men and women from island and mainland territories, covering in their church allegiance Lutherans, Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians, United Church of Canada, Baptists, the Dominican Evangelical Church, the Evangelical Church of Puerto Rico, Disciples of Christ, Moravians, the Church of God and Congregationalists.

The idea of such a Consultation arose out of the late Ernest J. Bingle's recommendation in his report, following his Caribbean tour in 1954, which, while noting isolationism in the Caribbean, urged that the area could be viewed as a whole and that a small Consultation would be the best way to explore the possibility of a Caribbean Conference, the purpose of which would be to draw the churches into effective association with ecumenical thought and service through the International Missionary Council and the World Council of Churches. The Consultation justified Ernest Bingle's recommendation, revealing, on the one hand, the lack of knowledge one of the other on the part of the Caribbean churches and, on the other, a deep desire to draw together so as to take part as a unit in ecumenical concerns.

Discussion at San German ranged over four major themes, Evangelism, the Training of the Ministry (ordained and lay), Christian Education, and Christian Home and Family Life. The Consultation concluded with the question: What next? It was recognized that San German was but an introduction and that the new chapter in Caribbean churchmanship depended for its effective writing upon the zeal and care with which the findings of this initial gathering were followed up during the next few years.

The Consultation was reminded that the churches work in an evangelized area, save in Trinidad and

British Guiana where there is the task of winning converts from the large population of East Indians who remain attached to Islam or Hinduism, both of which are feeling the stimulus of non-Christian evangelists coming from the East. The evangelical task was seen mainly to be the emergence of new ways of communicating the Word of God so as to release a sense of obligation on the part of the whole Church to present the Gospel in relation to the aspiration of the West Indians to prove themselves to be a new race. Both church leaders and politicians see the need to overcome a spirit of dependence, forcibly cultivated during a history of suppression and submission.

The training of the ordained has made notable strides of late years and the Consultation had little new to say, save to stress the value of concentrating this type of work in one or two well-run Union Seminaries where students would follow a full theological course in the Caribbean and not abroad. By this method a truly West Indian ministry would be assured. The lack of lay leadership gave far greater concern and the findings stressed the need for extended effort towards the development of means to inspire lay offers of voluntary service until the whole church knew itself as "the evangelist."

Limiting Christian Education to Sunday-school training, youth work and club activity, the Consultation found that the Latin-American churches were in advance of their neighbours in their issue of a locally produced Sunday-school curriculum for all grades. The practical result was the determination of the English-speaking area to achieve a like uniform series of Scripture lessons based on life in the Caribbean and that personnel should be found to do this, while, at the same time, holding training conferences on new teaching methods.

In discussing Christian Home and Family Life, the gathering was conscious of the need for expert help on problems peculiar to the Caribbean. The presence of Dr. and Mrs. David Mace encouraged the Consultation to hope that these two would be able to spend some considerable time in the near future in the area where, by study with a selected group of West Indian leaders, a new approach might be made towards a solution of how to overcome the persistent attitude, still so widely found, of regarding Christian marriage as irrelevant.

The spirit of the Consultation matched the eager aspiration that is so characteristic of the West Indies at the present time and gave the impression that the findings will be translated into action. The West Indian has been described as rootless and unaware of responsible personal relationships in church or community. Here lies the churches' unfinished task, to lead their people into an experience of being a family, rooted and grounded in the Love of God.

WILFRED EASTON.

Hope for the world

YALE DIVINITY SCHOOL was host to the committees and meetings of the World Council of Churches and International Missionary Council during the latter part of July and early August. The I.M.C. had a consultation of its officers in par-

ticular preparation for its Assembly in Ghana in January, 1958. The Joint Committee of the two organizations earnestly discussed a plan for their integration which, in due course, will have to be considered by the assemblies of each of the two bodies. Discussion of the plan in the Central Committee of the W.C.C. revealed some misunderstanding and some opposition. There were people who thought that the I.M.C. was itself a missionary-sending body; while the Orthodox Churches appear to be opposed altogether to the idea of integration. In the Joint Committee the danger of losing the sympathy of conservative missions and groups as a result of the union was emphasized. The concern for union is most evident in Asia and North America; in northern Europe it is less vocal and Africa and Latin America are somewhat cool. Indeed, only a very few of the churches or Christian Councils in Latin America are members of either organization. But more will be heard of these proposals.

For the rest, hundreds of men and women of nationalities and colours galore, came and went during three weeks. It was pleasant to get to know some of them a little and to enquire if they liked the heat, or if they didn't. The drawback to these meetings lies in the heated sense of self-importance which they generate, so that it comes to be assumed that unless the World Council of Churches is doing something, the churches are doing nothing. The truth is almost the reverse, namely that unless the churches are already doing something, the W.C.C. can do little or nothing. One cannot co-ordinate non-existent activities; and it is hard to make people do what their own intentions do not lead them to do. This is particularly true of the task of winning men and women for Christ.

But it is good in this crowded and quarrelsome planet, for the churches to meet now and then through their elected representatives, and to pray and read the Bible together, and to think of one another not as Anglicans, or Methodists, Argentinians, or Indians, but as children of God through faith in Jesus Christ. Herein lies hope for the world.

KENNETH GRUBB.

The Mission of Ghana

ON 3RD MARCH, 1957, the Sunday before Independence Day, the Rev. C. G. Baeta, Chairman of the Christian Council of the Gold Coast, addressed a massed religious service at the Accra Sports Stadium. On that greatest occasion in his country's history he preached from the text:

> Ye are an elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession, that ye may show forth the excellencies of him who called you out of darkness into his marvellous light.—(1 Peter 2:9).

They were a nation, he told them, born with a mission, a mission that extended far beyond the borders of Ghana. By the very fact of their emergence as a free people they were challenged to co-operate in God's work of visiting and redeeming his people throughout the whole continent of Africa. At the same time, three thousand miles away, the editor of an African paper was writing about

the people of Ghana gaining their independence "after toiling and moiling and groaning and sorrowing under the steel heel of their oppressors." Christian Baeta, having spent his life in the Gold Coast, was more objective. He spoke of the past as "a very necessary apprenticeship, God's own way of imparting to us insights, experiences and competencies without which we should be quite unequal to our task in the world to-day. If to-day we are emerging as a new nation, even that nationhood itself is a heritage from the Colonial period, a gift as yet fragile and needing to be handled delicately before it becomes securely our own."

What is Ghana's task in the world to-day? As Baeta sees it, it is to demonstrate, not with high words, but by the quality of its national life, the falsity of the arguments which men use to bolster up their theories of racial superiority and their practices of discrimination. It is to prove that, given the freedom which other peoples assume as their birthright, Negro Africans are well able to play their full part in the world's life and make their own great contribution to its enrichment.

"To co-operate in God's work of visiting and redeeming his people throughout the whole continent of Africa." The task can be differently interpreted. There are some who state it bluntly as "the sweeping of the last vestiges of colonialism out of Africa"; and to many this means a negative, bitter, possibly violent anti-white campaign, aiming at a replacement of "white supremacy" by "black supremacy." Such an interpretation is only possible to those who think that God's people throughout Africa are necessarily all black, a natural enough reaction against those who appear to think that they are all white. These are assumptions that most people would indignantly deny that they made, but all too often they are the clear inferences from what they say. The parts of Africa which above all need to be visited and redeemed are those where God's people of different races have yet to learn how to live together in a common citizenship of high standard. It is in such situations that the most difficult problems are set, and the most intractable element in them is the inhibiting effect of mutual fear and suspicion. Ghana could so act as greatly to allay these. To her comes the high challenge to show forth the excellencies of Him in whom there is neither Greek nor Jew, neither white nor black, and who is calling all men, if they will but heed and follow, out of the darkness of their perplexities into his marvellous light.

L. B. GREAVES.

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Some reflections on the work of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs

International affairs and the Christian Life

ALAN BOOTH

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE to draw directly from the life of Jesus Christ on earth any parallel to the kind of circumstance in which Christians gaze upon the tangled international scene of 1957. But we have some vivid pictures of Him brooding over the city of Jerusalem, its political and ecclesiastical intrigues and diplomacy, rulers and ruled. "How often would I have gathered thy children . . .",—the longing and compassion come poignantly through the record, and we are told that on one occasion it moved Him to tears. As He came near the end of His ministry His thought was of the tragedy in view for the city. "Thine enemies shall not leave in thee one stone upon another." History fulfilled His foreboding.

But He did not on this account stand apart from it all—far otherwise. The desolation He foresaw fell first upon His own willing head. He did not relieve His feeling by sending words of further wise advice as to how affairs might be better conducted—the equivalent perhaps of an official ecclesiastical resolution on public affairs. He wept, He prayed for those who knew not what they were doing, and He died.

Without understanding something of the depth of that suffering it is scarcely safe for the Church, the Christians of the world, to talk about witness in international affairs. It is terribly easy to minimise the sheer impotance of men to reorder their affairs, and thus to allow ourselves to become strident, pontifical and platitudinous in the supply of good advice. And the same movement of spirit tends to set us apart in imagination from the struggling world, as though in some way we ourselves were not part of the problem. Thus we try to escape the tears, the suffering and the strong crying of our Master, exchanging them for the less demanding rôle of the amateur commentator deploring, urging, recommending from a ringside seat. It may be that the world is quicker than we are to notice the difference, and to make the necessary adjustments in the degree of attention it will give to our labours in this field. But even if we did better, the deafness of the world to the things that belong to its peace is not a mild affliction.

All this is said lest it be imagined that the churches have fulfilled their duty by creating a Commission

on International Affairs (C.C.I.A.) on a world scale, and authorising various committees down the line to pass resolutions. One might say that these are all artificial flowers unless they are in fact the product and expression of the spiritual life of a world Christian family that is learning to care deeply for, and identify itself with, a forlorn world. The signs of that spiritual life are a deep compassion, constant prayer, especially for our enemies, and a willingness to accept the righteous judgements of God even upon our most cherished achievements.

Caring

With such clues, however, it may be possible to glimpse some of the duties of an organ of the churches charged to bear witness in international affairs. Let us take compassion first, with which goes a measure of self-identification. One thinks at once of the service to be rendered to those who suffer in their own persons the evil consequences of human conflict—refugees and victims of war. By the side of the department of Inter-Church Aid, a member of the C.C.I.A. staffs works, particularly in the political field where the decisions of government or of United Nations agencies can affect the plight of refugees — urging the policies of compassion and humanity. But notice also how compassion and identification can modify our attitude to foreign policy decisions generally. It is tempting, from a distance, to simplify and moralise in this field, rather than go down into the complex technical realities involved, the headaches and frustrations that beset anyone who takes responsibility for devising practical actions. Here there are no final solutions, but only palliatives and ameliorations, things of infinite value to the compassionate but trying to the patience of others.

Along this road there are temptations to cynicism, and a false "realism" which loses the vision of God's final purpose in concentrating on the narrow limits of what is immediately practicable. But it is just here that Christian balance is most valuable. The C.C.I.A. is, in one aspect, an experiment in this direction, deriving much of its advice from laymen at work in the political field, who know its technicalities, have experienced its necessary limitations, and yet desire to work in it in the light of God's truth and love. Perhaps the experiment has only begun, and we need many more opportunities for such laymen to meet in Christian fellowship and help one another to escape from the false prejudices of their own group or nation. But at least we have begun, and if some of the pronouncements of the C.C.I.A. seem to churchmen dangerously earthy and lacking prophetic illumination, it is just possible that these very characteristics derive from a worthwhile adventure in understanding and caring for the real world.

Praying

The second manifestation of Christian spirituality in international affairs mentioned above is constant prayer, especially for our enemies. This is based on the explicit injunction of our Lord, and the obligation arises from a simple Christian truth—that all of us are so deeply in debt ourselves that we

cannot afford to cut off those indebted to us. We show forth the mercy we ourselves receive, and call constantly upon God to show it to all men. How strangely this modifies the normally accepted picture we have of the present tensions of the nations! Inevitably we are tempted to a black-and-white view of the world—good governments and nations versus bad ones, and the press and propaganda agencies are powerful agents in projecting such a picture before the public. Yet it is a distortion of the truth as God has shown it to us. There are indeed varying degrees of political and moral development in different nations and societies, but this not due to inherent virtue and a natural moral superiority, but to God's gift and grace. And our deepest concern is that the nations should be open to His word of command and correction for none is justified before Him. That is why "religious liberty" is so central to our concern —that men may be free to hear the word of God and free to live by it. So the C.C.I.A. is constantly called upon, whether it be in the framing of the constitution of a new state, or the defence of an individual mission, to remind political authorities of this basic obligation—so to order affairs that the Christian community may be free to bear witness to the God of all. The danger here is that it become simply a kind of ecclesiastical lobby, defending narrow ecclesiastical interests, and no doubt there have been occasions when missionary societies and others looked for such a service. Christians can be saved from a misuse of power of this kind when they seek freedom, not to secure a safe corner for themselves and their institution, but to maintain opportunities to serve all men and to bear witness in public life to the liberating commands of God. This may seem a delicate distinction but it is a vital one in the matter of religious liberty. We are as much concerned to preserve the rights of all, believers or not, to make responsible choices, as we are to see that this mission hospital or that mission school is saved from outside interference.

Sharing the world's fate

Lastly, Christian understanding of international affairs involves a readiness to accept the righteous judgements of God on all our achievements. Some readers will remember that in the early days of the last war Archbishop Temple made a public statement in which he warned us that we had no right to expect victory from God's hands. There were enough evil things in our national life, and an absence of good things, to compel us to acknowledge the possibility that our defeat would serve the cause of God's righteousness. Nevertheless, he maintained that as far as we could see, our duty lay in striving to overcome Hitler's power. This perception still holds, and should save us from the self-righteousness and national pride which add immeasurably to the dangers of the present situation. It is by no means easy to preserve a proper moral vigour in condemning the grim evils of totalitarian power, and balance it with a genuinely repentant sense of the failures of democratic societies and the falsity of some of their

pretensions to virtue. Yet the preservation of such a balance may well be one of the chief contributions Christians can make to the major tensions of our day.

Further we must accept as a possibility that we are watching on a larger scale the march of events that Jesus watched as He gazed over Jerusalem. We watch not as spectators but as participants, learning to bow before God's judgement with obedience. But then our task is to identify those elements of callousness, human complacency, and self-satisfaction, pride and the misuse of power that bring such judgements to pass. And our repentance is not in order that we may escape God's hand, but that we may place ourselves more faithfully in God's hands. Are we doing enough to call attention to the West's inner corruption, its absorption in its own prosperity and its technical superiority in a world where millions ply the hand hoe? It is all too easy to be "worried" by the possibilities of atomic destruction rather than by the cry of the poor and needy whom God hears. This is where all the work of C.C.I.A. on technical assistance to under-developed countries fits in. But the question may properly be asked whether there is a close enough collaboration also with those whose specific duty it is to bring radical Christian judgements to bear on the inner defects of our domestic societies.

Are we coming to the last chapters of human history? "To the Christian the world is always ending, and every historical crisis is, as it were, a rehearsal for the real thing." Our concern is not to keep the show going at any cost, and we certainly ought to be the last to panic at the prospect of the final curtain. Our duty remains the same in any case—to labour for justice, patience, understanding, freedom,—to care, and pray and share the world's fate. But just because the world will become increasingly anxious about its own survival, Christians must watch to keep their own sense of proportion. There are always things more important than survival, and these are the things with which to busy ourselves, be the days long or short. It may be, therefore, that the churches should not too readily join in identifying atomic war as the major threat of the day, but point rather to those affronts to the righteousness and goodness of God with which we all too readily are prepared to live indefinitely so long as we can live with them "in peace." God is surely unveiling that hypocrisy to-day.

FRONTIER

We would like to draw the attention of our readers once again to the fact that, with the January issue, *World Dominion* will join forces with the *Christian News-Letter* and will appear under the name of FRONTIER.

Subscribers to *World Dominion* will automatically receive *Frontier,* and we hope,—and believe,—that they will like their old friend even better in its new guise.

Turkey: a bridge between continents

PAUL H. NILSON

GEOGRAPHICALLY TURKEY is at one of the most important crossroads of the world—the crossing of the land routes over which all commerce, migrations and war between the continents of Europe and Asia and even Africa have to pass. It also contains the only sea passage between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, the straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. All water traffic which goes from the Danube waterway and the Russian rivers to the rest of the world has to pass through Turkey. It is a country approximately eight hundred miles long and four hundred miles wide, most of it being a peninsula known as Asia Minor, or Anatolia, but it has a foothold in Europe and extends well into Asia proper. Perhaps its geographic position may be taken as symbolic of its two-fold character—that of a nation solidly in sympathy with Europe and the Western world, but bound by tradition, culture and religion to Asia.

The twenty-one-million people of Turkey reflect the influence of their geography. It is as though all the travellers along the roads which cross here have left their stragglers behind them. Although Turks consider themselves to be descendants of the Turkish tribes which were the last "travellers" in any great numbers to come out of Asia, in actual fact these Turkish tribes became the rulers of the people who were already living in the land. These people themselves represented all the previous migrations and conquests which had passed by. Thus the present population is a mixture, much as the English people are a mixture of Britons, Angles, Saxons, and finally Normans. There are still in Turkey groups of undefined origin, such as the Kurds of the south-eastern corner of the country and the Laz of the Black Sea coast. Although they are rapidly becoming assimilated into the surrounding culture these groups have, until now, preserved distinct cultures, and unwritten languages which have no relationship with Turkish.

The religious history of the area also reflects the crossroads character of its geography. The pagan cults of Roman times were influenced by Greek, Persian and Egyptian religion and philosophy. Famous centres of these cults, such as Ephesus and Antioch were in what is now Turkey. As Christianity spread from Palestine and Islam from Arabia, both in their turn passed through this land. Islam, the latest arrival, is now the religion

of the majority of the people, but reminders of its predecessors remain. Many a healing spring or other shrine of today is known to have been regarded as a holy place in heathen times. A more substantial reminder is the small Christian minority population of the country. Two per cent. of the population is non-Muslim, divided between Greek Orthodox (remnant of the Byzantine Empire), Armenian National Church, and small groups of representatives of the other Ancient Oriental Churches—Syrian Jacobite, Nestorian, Chaldean, among others. These all reflect the conflicts of early Christian times and the famous Church Councils which took place in various cities of this country. There is also a sizeable group of descendants of Spanish Jews who took refuge in Turkey from the Spanish Inquisition.

The Turkish nation is not only located at a geographic crossroads, but it is figuratively standing at partings of the way in other realms, such as politics, religion and philosophy. Politically Turkey is a republic, a very young republic, and, as young republics go, it is very stable. Almost thirty-five years ago, the first steps of turning from a despotic type of government to a democratic government were made. But the roads at this political crossroad are not very clearly defined. It is too easy for a people who have been accustomed to accepting orders unquestioningly for centuries to slip back into old habits and accept what those in authority decree even though the authorities are supposed to be representing the people.

First steps towards democracy

The first step away from the road of despotism on to the road of democracy was revolutionary, but when the dust of conflict had cleared away, very little actual change in political direction was seen. After the first World War Kemal Ataturk wrested the government from the hands of a weak Sultan who was doing little more for the country than to hand it over piece by piece to its enemies. By then the Turkish Empire had disintegrated and the land of Turkey was rapidly being occupied by foreigners. Ataturk rallied his people, cleared the foreigners out of the country by force of arms, and by renouncing all Imperial claims won the recognition of the world for his new nation.

The government of the new nation was set up on a democratic pattern, but by his great personal hold over his people, and by keeping control over the one political party which he permitted, Ataturk was able to rule almost as autocratically as the Sultans before him. He used his personal power to force tremendous social changes on the nation. These changes were so great that there is little doubt that he could never have accomplished them under a fully democratic system of government. Until his people's social attitudes were changed they were not ready for democracy. Ataturk's life-time was devoted to his social reforms and to a gradual education of the people to political maturity.

The next step along the new political road occurred after Ataturk died in November, 1939. Although

his régime had been a virtual dictatorship, the values of his reforms had already been felt, and his death was mourned by the whole nation. During the war-years that followed, the *Cumhuriyet Halk Parti* (C.H.P.) which he founded continued to govern the country and to allow no political opposition. But by 1946 enough difference of opinion within the party had developed for it to be felt necessary to take the next step and permit an opposition party to be formed. During the elections of 1950 the logical result of this move occurred when the voters elected a large majority of *Demokrat Parti* (D.P.) members to the Grand National Assembly. The C.H.P. relinquished the authority it had wielded for almost twenty-five years and entered upon the unfamiliar career of being in opposition.

The "Opposition" takes over

During its first term in office the D.P. began to realise that it is one thing to criticise the Government, and to promise wonderful changes when elected to power, and quite another thing to act on those promises. However, no matter how many promises were forgotten and how many mistakes were made, the D.P. did make clear to the voters that it intended to pay more attention to the interests of the little people, the farmer and labourer, than the previous administration had paid. This policy was rewarded in the elections of 1954 when the D.P. was returned to power with an overwhelming majority in the Grand National Assembly. This great power may have had its corrupting influence, because during this last term which is about to end, the D.P. has put on a different face. It has turned against the C.H.P. in a vindictive spirit, using the authority of government to deprive the Opposition Party of buildings which, say the C.H.P.'s, had been built with government funds when the C.H.P. was in power. It passed a law abolishing a province which had voted heavily for the leader of another opposition party, redistributing the land covered by that province so that the opposition vote would be diluted by the D.P. vote of the neighbouring provinces. (This law was partially revoked recently in an effort to placate the Opposition).

Perhaps the greatest mistake was the Government's handling of the Cyprus question. In 1955, possibly in an effort to divert attention from the economic troubles of the country, the Government began making speeches about its interest in the situation in Cyprus. With the help of the newspapers, public feeling was aroused until it finally got out of control in the rioting of September, 1955. What part the Government played in this affair has never been made clear. Since that time the D.P. and the Government have passed through repeated crises. After each crisis, dissident members of the D.P. have been ejected from the Party and the Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes has emerged with increasing per sonal power. When, in the summe of 1956, he forced three law through the Grand Nation Assembly giving sweeping econom powers to the Government for t control of commerce, and forbi ding political campaigning unti election time and all press criticism

of the Government, it appeared that the political clock was being turned back, and that one-man rule was returning. But now election time is coming round. The Government is about to announce the date. It remains to be seen whether the will of the people will be permitted to prevail.

The social crossroads at which Turkey stands are in many ways linked with its political changes. The old, autocratic Government could only have lasted in a feudal society, a society where the ignorant masses were completely at the mercy of their rulers. The sweeping social reforms of Ataturk were a necessary foundation for a democratic political structure.

The most controversial reform of Ataturk was what might be called the "disestablishment of the Church." The Sultan had been the religious leader of all Islam, the *Halife* (Caliph), as well as the temporal ruler of the Turkish Empire. His Muslim subjects were ruled according to the *Seriat* (Religious law of Islam), while his non-Muslim subjects were ruled by their religious leaders, Patriarch, Bishop, or Chief Priest. The loyalty of the ignorant, superstitious masses depended on their ignorance and superstition. Only the ignorant would unquestioningly accept the word of the religious leader. Thus Ataturk felt he had to break the power of the religious leaders. Only then could he hope to educate the people into the freedom of democracy. Soon after deposing the Sultan as temporal ruler of Turkey, Ataturk abolished his office as *Halife*. Then education was removed from the hands of the religious leaders and put under the control of a Ministry of Education. The teaching of religion to minors was forbidden except in the home. The State was declared to be secular, and nationalism became the new "religion" encouraged by the Government.

Other reforms included reforms of dress, a new alphabet, the vote for women, and other social freedoms. Each was important in paving the way for democracy. The forbidding of religious dress and the veil removed distinctions which would have added to the authority of the religious man. The new alphabet enabled the people to read and write almost overnight. Thus great numbers of former illiterates no longer had to depend on the conservative religious man for his "thought-guidance." The Government could explain itself to the people through the press. Giving the women equality with men was insurance that these reforms would not easily pass away.

All this was forced on a sometimes unwilling people. Even to-day many of the villagers long for the old days when "The True Religion" was freely practiced and the *Seriat* law was supreme. When the D.P. came to power and competition for votes became the order of the day such longings began to take on important political significance. At first the political parties began a race to capture the "religious vote." Then the danger of reaction became evident as fanatical groups began to gain power. After a prominent newspaper editor was shot for his liberal views by a fanatical young man the seriousness of the situation became evident and open campaign-

ing for religious votes was outlawed. But the pressure of these reactionary views has had its effect. Religious courses were introduced into the primary schools, and later into middle schools. Last year mission schools of middle school level were required to offer courses in Islam for their Muslim students. A School of Theology was opened in connection with Ankara University. Communities in various parts of the country were permitted to open schools for training prayer-leaders and preachers under the control of the Ministry of Education. All these are efforts to satisfy the religious urge of the people and to channel that urge in directions which will not conflict with the reforms of the past thirty years.

Economic reforms were hampered in the early years by the extremely nationalistic attitude which looked with suspicion on advice or help from foreigners, and by the burden of maintaining a large conscript army at all times. However, much has been done in thirty years. Networks of roads and railroads now serve every town and even reach to most villages. The sugar beet industry has grown from nothing to include ten or fifteen processing plants. "The Office of Products of the Land" is building great silos to store the grain harvest. Cotton and woollen textiles are produced in sufficient quantities to supply almost all the country's needs of cloth. All this industrialization was going at a slow, steady rate, which the economy could support. When the D.P. came to power it began to speed things up, and also undertook vast programmes of rural electrification and water supply. Together, these proved too great a drain on the economy. The country began to get deeply in debt to foreign countries. A semi-drought, which lasted for three years and only broke this spring, aggravated this situation so that one of the major problems of the Government is how to control the resulting inflation.

The people of Turkey are also at a third crossroads: a crossing of the ways of philosophy or religion. This land has a long history as a battleground for conflicting ways of thought. The Councils of the early Christian Church, and the ultimate split between the Eastern and Western Church which resulted from them, were only one episode in this long history. The contest is now between the ideas of the West, basically if remotely the result of a long Christian tradition, and the all-embracing claims of Islam. For Islam claims to be the only true source of wisdom in every field, from civil government to spiritual discipline.

During the European Dark Ages, while the Christian Church was blocking all progress in the search for knowledge, it was Islam which gave thinkers the freedom of thought necessary to make the Muslim people world leaders in science and philosophy. While Christians were persecuting each other for minor differences of doctrine Islam provided a relative haven for people of many beliefs. Since then the positions have been reversed. Islam has gradually hardened into a dogmatic religion which leaves no leeway for new ideas while, as a result of the Reformation, Christianity has become tolerant of scientific investigation and

other forms of independent thinking.

The young people of Turkey are standing at a crossroads between these two attitudes. Their schooling has been in the Western tradition, with its emphasis on the open mind, and the need to prove all theories. They ask questions and expect logical answers. When they turn to religion, the traditional religion of their fathers cannot give such answers. It calls them to a blind unquestioning faith, condemning such questioning as being of the devil. There are attempts to reform the traditional religion, to bring it up-to-date. There are many people who turn away from religion completely and try to be satisfied with materialism or nationalism. But this still leaves an unfilled void in their lives. Some turn to investigate other religions, but where is there a religion whose adherents live up to its claims? Here is a challenge to the West. How can we, in spite of the gross materialism which threatens to swamp our culture, witness clearly to the faith on which Western freedoms, and respect for the individual, are based? For it is from the West that the Turks have taken their ideas for reforms; it is logical that the West should be able to satisfy their spiritual longings as well.

CHRIST'S HOPE OF THE KINGDOM

by

Alexander McLeish

Foreword by John A. MacKay

" In view of Christ's teaching of the Kingdom and of its reception down through the history of the Church, many accepted attitudes need to be challenged. Many questions fall to be asked as to the nature of the missionary obligation of the Church as it confronts the present world situation. An answer to some of these questions is attempted in this study, and an effort made to determine the priorities facing the Church in view of all that has happened . . . and the great Hope originally set forth in the New Testament." *(Author's introduction)*

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That word 'indigenous'

KENNETH G. GRUBB

This article, at somewhat greater length, was written some twenty years ago for "World Dominion," but was not used at the time. It is now printed as then written, with only minor alteratians.

THE WORD "indigenous" is repeatedly used in the missionary literature of to-day. To some it is interchangeable with "native"; others seem to use it as an alternative to "national." An "indigenous church" means to some a church which has become independent of missionary guidance and authority; while others refuse to apply it to any institution which has had any connection with foreign missions or even foreign influence within historical times. In an attempt to discover its real implications, we shall not find that the dictionary is of much service. The word, although apparently fairly definite in its original meaning, has come to contain various shades of interpretation. It has historical, national and even biological implications, and its application to the methods and practice of missions has incessantly been borrowed from these.

What is indigenous?

What is indigenous or not to the culture and institutions of a people is ultimately a question of what science has to say about the origin and distribution of mankind throughout the world. Again and again, a people have absorbed culture and adopted institutions which, to all appearances, were not indigenous to them, and have successfully made them a part of their own tradition. Not merely have they adopted first principles, but the actual institutions which, in a different land, represent the application of broad principles to the problems of society. Often this adoption has been forced upon them as a result of war, but succeeding generations have not repudiated such a heritage. The reverse is also true: repeatedly people have fought in order to oppose the enforced adoption of customs which were strange to them.

On the other hand, a sustained cultural or religious development of a phenomenal kind is rarely, if ever, wholly "indigenous." It has proved impossible to sustain the level of cultures which remain in isolation. The more comprehensive a truth is the richer is the variety of peoples to whom it is likely to prove adaptable. The adaptation will not be perfect, as comprehensiveness necessarily means that local demands can only be met by a degree of approximation. If this were the sole reason affecting the propagation of the faith, we might look forward to a spread of Islam much more rapid than that of

Christianity, for it is morally less exacting and, therefore, more comprehensive. For the same reason the possibilities of indigenous adaptation which are inherent in Islam are more easily apparent than in the case of Christianity. Christianity must demand and expect a radical individual and social transformation and should not hesitate if this seems to clash with respect for indigenous traditions.

Neither should a respect for the "indigenous" be pleaded in favour of a retention of customs which are innocuous but not necessarily constructive, mainly because, during a period of transition no real substitute can be found. The anthropologist's plea for reverence for local customs is of no value as a static conception, but only as a basis for a dynamic transformation. Had the Christianization of the Germanic tribes of Europe been followed by an attempt to persuade them to retain a tribal organization, had they not obtained influence in the Empire and become adapted to its structure, the subsequent culture of the West would have been impossible. The people of Africa demand a share in Western progress: there is nothing to be gained by attempting to deny it to them in the name of an artificial respect for indigenous growth.

There is a great deal to be said for the argument that tribal and other social or political structures are evidence of a sense of corporate living which must not be destroyed. But for a culture to be termed really indigenous, in the sense that the Church can come to terms with it on this basis, something more is needed. It must be a culture in the affirmative sense, with a positive scale of religious and ethical principles, some artistic and aesthetic feeling, a measure of intellectual achievement, and a social organization which is not merely intricate, or adapted to its own life but is capable of resisting the slings and arrows of fortune.

Unless these things are present, it is much better that they should be supplied from without, drawing from rich international resources of Christianity. The spirit of the local community will respond to a lead thus given, although, for the time being, it may be unable to produce any creative contributions of its own. The people or the Church will take what is thus offered to them, and modify it further for their own ends. In this way the community will be acting in accord with the laws of progress and development seen in history itself. This is the reason why a church with an elaborate ritual background, such as the Roman Catholic, will often succeed in maintaining a more "indigenous" policy in its missions than others who bring less colour to their work. Their positive contribution in worship and their ritual cannot be said to be "indigenous" to the local community, but are often so modified by it as to become a part of its whole life. Meanwhile a visible link with the wider worship of the Church is retained.

I have said nothing of church organization which looms large in many missionaries' minds, but similar considerations hold good. Unless the people themselves have emphatic ideas on the nature of association, it is better to offer a positive system which can prove itself capable of adaptation. The

evil arises when different systems exist in the same region, but there is no remedy in attempting to promote one more system on the ground that it may be more indigenous. The development of the sect-type of church offers no solution in the facing of the multiplication of church-types. The only possibility lies in the adaptation and union of the church-types.

A large number of persons escape from the implications of the word "indigenous" by contending that there are certain principles, namely, those of the New Testament, and these are capable of local application. This is to some extent true, or if not true, it seems to offer an escape from a difficult situation. The feasibility of local application can be pressed too far

We are familiar with the argument that there should be agreement in essentials, liberty in details and charity in all things. The last phrase is one which will command wide assent, the first two merely reiterate the difficulty. What is a matter of detail, susceptible of local interpretation, and what is not? Is the renunciation of polygamy essential to the members of a Christian church? Is obeisance to a Shinto shrine an act of worship or of loyalty to the State? In other words, where are we going to draw a line between the *necessary* expression of the principle of the Gospels, and the *optional* expression which they can reasonably be made to justify? The Incarnation was the culmination of a long religious and historical process confined within the genius and the folly of one nation alone—the Hebrew. This is a most significant fact, and is cannot be emphasized too often. The whole history of Israel justifies us in assuming that a revelation made in the first instance to one people should become a gift to others. But to see truth may cost life, and Israel as a nation went, as it were, into liquidation shortly after the coming of the rejected Messiah. The ease with which the early Church was influenced by Hellenic thought similarly recalls the truth that it is legitimate for Christianity to become "indigenized" by absorbing alien elements. Thus there is no final answer to the question "What is an indigenous church?" but only a series of approximations. All that can be said is that the universal principle of Christianity, as expressed in the life of Christ, must come to terms with the positive culture and ethics of the nations, when these really exist. The process of combination will inevitably lead to tension and struggle, and may thus be one of God's ways of strengthening the Church itself.

The possibility of Christianity becoming indigenous depends on certain fundamental principles. The first is the character of its Founder. The second is the comprehensiveness of its message. The third is the truth which it maintains about the Fatherhood of God, the nature of man and his common need of redemption: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth . . . that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after Him and find Him. . . ." After these principles, we have to consider the historical nature of the Christian revelation, with the circumstances both of its antecedent preparation and its dissemination in

the world. Reflection on these things may well lead us to conclude that the Christian faith represents the highest possible combination of several factors: redemptive power, moral demand on man, potentiality for creative expansion, revelation of the nature of God, and adaptability to human variations. This is surely a sufficient programme for any missionary religion.

Some conclusions

We can draw a few conclusions. The first is that the story of the achievements of the Church in organization and action, in other words Church History, does not cramp indigenous development, but confirms it. Secondly, the indigenous hypothesis is most nearly justified when a positive church-type dominates the work in any region. Thirdly, although we cannot entirely distinguish between the necessary and optional application of Christian principles, we can find some guidance in the very fact that a church redeemed from paganism will often see both the inner and applied meaning of the Gospel with greater clarity than ourselves. Fourthly, in the development of the synthesis between universal principles and local expression we shall inevitably have to face tension and conflict which we should not, therefore, shrink from. Fifthly, we can be assured that the teaching of the Gospels combines the highest degree of moral demand and local adaptation of principle working together.

A protest against that type of indigenous emphasis which amounts to an endorsement of self-determination and gives an approving nod to modern nationalism is certainly needed. Small Churches soon find that they cannot maintain their life without some connection and traffic with other Churches. This very fact should keep before us the truth that political frontiers can never be regarded as cultural or religious ones. Similarly, local attitudes can never supersede the accumulated wisdom of the universal Church: they can only become a part of it, reflecting its greater experience and larger discipline. The Church will then be something much more than an assemblage of indigenous churches: it will be an ecumenical and international society in which the members contribute to and draw from the life, love and wisdom of the whole.

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An article under this title appeared in *World Dominion,* July, 1956, and has now been reprinted as a pamphlet. This gives a brief history and an account of the present position of missionary work in Angola. It includes three maps, one of which shows all the mission stations of the twelve Evangelical missions working in the country.

The author, the Rev. John T. Tucker, D.D., spent forty years in Angola as a missionary with the United Church of Canada, and founded the Angola Evangelical Alliance, which has contributed significantly to the formation of the Church of Christ in Angola. In the greater part of the Angola field, from the beginning, no denominational names have been used.

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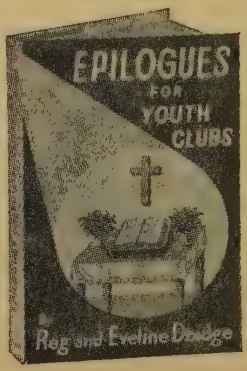

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